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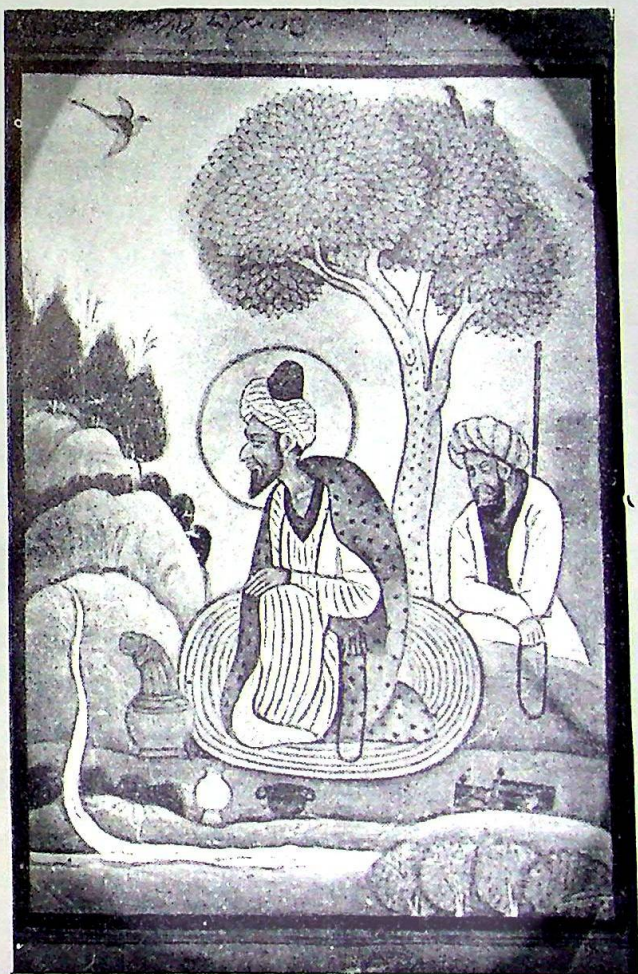
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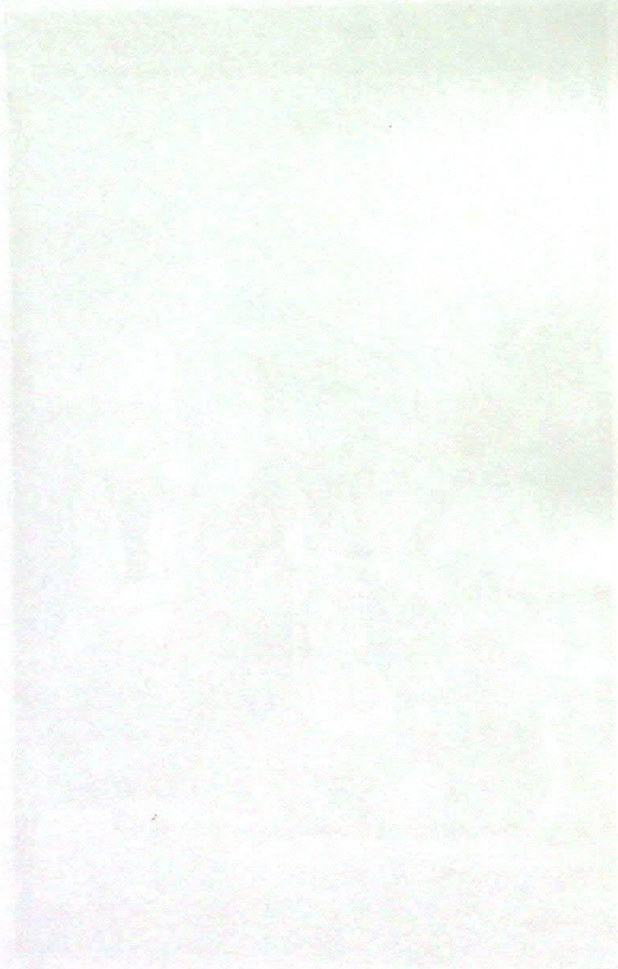
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Plate No. I



Sheikh Noor-ud-Dīn
(: Nunda' Ryo'sh)

[1377 A. D.—1433 A. D.]



PREFATORY :

The *Kashmir Research Biannual* is intended to be a Bulletin of the Kashmir Research Department, and as such it has, primarily, to offer peeps into various facets of research undertaken by the Department. But the main objective of the Department itself (: conducting researches in *Indology*) will hardly be realised in full as long as steps are not taken to encourage, foster and consolidate research work outside the Department too. It would, therefore, be advisable to organise a sort of *Research Forum* where researchers in *Indology* could meet at regular intervals as well as on special occasions to read and discuss research papers, thrash out problems and difficulties, exchange findings and experiences and, thereby, extend the frontiers of research and knowledge. The *Biannual* would, therefore, gratefully accommodate any valuable research contribution by any scholar working on any aspect of *Indology* in Kashmir. In fact, we propose devoting special columns to *Symposia* on important topics of research, and would warmly welcome authentic and significant notes, articles and dissertations accordingly. Of course, the emphasis has to

be on authenticity of documentation as well as treatment—exposition and interpretation.

So much about the *objective*. Now a word as to the general *disposition* of the *Biannual*. About a third of the contents will be reserved for *original texts* of small MSS published (wholly or partially) for the first time, with the critical apparatus and the introduction in English. The remaining two-thirds will include research articles on *literature* and *linguistics*, *historiography* and *sociology*, *religion* and *philosophy*, or *art* and *culture*, over and above the more or less running features like the following :

- (a) *In search of MSS* (including *Peeps* into some of them);
- (b) *New Light on Old problems* (: Brief Research Notes);
- (c) *Question, Comment, and Conjecture* (: Research correspondence) ;
- (d) *Views and Reviews* (On Research Publications);
- (e) *Art and Archaeology* ;
- (f) *Research Symposia* ;
- (g) *Select Reading References* ; and
- (h) *Illustrative Plates*.

And, now, the *Biannual* must speak itself !

— (Ed.)

REQUISITES OF KASHMIROLOGY

Kashmir's contribution to the heritage of India has been distinct enough to permit the use of a new term, *Kashmirology*, as an important branch of *Indology*. Its importance is manifold in terms of myth and legend, custom and tradition, religion and philosophy, language and literature, art and archaeology, and socio-economic as well as political developments in this integral part of India.

But very little of this contribution has so far been adequately explored and assessed, and systematically presented in spite of the pioneering work¹ done in many a field such as historiography, folk-lore philosophy and linguistics.

The first significant effort to survey, secure and preserve MSS was made in 1860-65 at the instance of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who unfortunately did not live long enough to see the important works published along with translation as planned. Later on, when the State Research Department was set up in 1902 the publication of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* was contemplated and more than six dozen works have appeared since. A remarkable record, no doubt, though very few of these publications meet the demands of critical and scientific editing as understood now. What one misses most in a majority of these is a thorough word-index and a revealing introduction

1. Cf. P. 8

and perhaps, critical or elucidatory notes wherever unavoidable.

Every effort has, therefore, to be made now not only to overcome shortcomings like these, but also to establish *Kashmirology* on foundations securer and more broad-based, by integrating the isolated bits of earlier research into a comprehensive whole. The emphasis, so far, has been on mere publication of MSS (mostly of religio-philosophical content), and, even the basic tasks like compilation of descriptive catalogues of MSS have all along been lying over for one reason or the other. It is high time, therefore, that these research problems are viewed in a more correlated perspective.

The problem of problems, obviously, continues to be that of salvaging rare MSS and compiling not only **Descriptive Catalogues** of the collections made (including those of art - pieces and other research material) but also **Source-material Miscellanies** on various aspects of *Kashmirology* so as to facilitate researches therein².

The problem of compiling a **Bibliography of Source-material** is no less urgent, but it presupposes a thorough (: both intensive and extensive) survey of all the source-material lying scattered in private collections as well as in the MS libraries of India and the

2. Accordingly, the Department is at present working on the following, scheduled to appear in 1960-61 :

Catalogue : Vol. 1 (*Historiography*) ; and

Miscellany : Vol. 1 (*Zainul-a'bidin and His Times*)

world. Yet a humble beginning³ has to be made with the material noticed so far or accessible with a little effort.

Parallel to this basic task of compilation runs that of bringing out critical editions of important works defectively published or lying unpublished. In this connection it is gratifying to know that the V. V. Research Institute of Hoshiarpur has undertaken to bring out a revised edition of *Kalhana's Rajatarangini* and critical editions of the later chronicles by **Jonaraja**, **Srivara** and **Suka**. That is surely going to fulfil a longfelt need, but equally pressing is the need of collating these chronicles with their Persian counter - parts (: versions or adaptations). Such an endeavour would light up many a dark corner and fill up many a gap in the History of Kashmir. The compilation of a *Concordance* and a *Variorum* in this connection would also prove of immense help in reconstructing quite a few lost fragments of our historical narrative as well as in checking up, reconsidering and revising many inaccuracies undetected so far.

Archaeology could have helped a great deal in this endeavour, but unfortunately it has yet to play its full role in digging up the very early layers of Kashmir's historical evolution. The crest of the earth has, no

3. With this idea in view a comprehensive survey of MSS lying undetected or unutilized in the various regions of the State is under consideration by the Department which proposes to bring out a Literary History of Kashmir in three Vols during 1960-63.)

doubt, been scratched at a number of places; but very little digging of the right type has so far taken place except, perhaps, at a site or two. Research scholars would, therefore, feel grateful for any future programme of scientific excavation in Kashmir (including the far flung regions which have yet to feature in a historical account of the state). Meanwhile, a new hand - book on Archaeology in Kashmir with copious illustrations is a pressing need.

The task of bringing out an **Encyclopaedia of Kashmirology** is no less important, but to realize this objective, a few more preliminary and, therefore, urgent steps are inevitable. Thus, for instance, upto date and authentic *surveys* of the various aspects of this heritage have to be made and published with exhaustive *indexes*. Besides, not only a **Biographical Dictionary** of the distinguished sons and daughters of Kashmir, such as scholars, writers and thinkers, but also volumes like a **Dictionary of Saivism and Sufism** have to be compiled. Such a work long overdue, is likely to promote a study of the religio-philosophical history of the land.

A new linguistic survey of the state would, no doubt, be covered by the forthcoming linguistic survey of India, in the near future, but that would hardly justify any delay in the preparation of **scientific grammars** and **linguistic introductions** to the mother-tongues spoken in the state; much less in the task of exploring, collecting, and compiling the *folklore*

of the land. Unless these programmes are undertaken, no scientific study of the folk-traditions and the folk-patterns is possible. The preparation of specific *vocabularies* peculiar to different callings and vocations and spheres of activity has also to be taken up and carried on side by side. That will, incidentally help in collecting genuine source-material for the compilation of authentic dictionaries of the various mother-tongues spoken in the state, including a *Thesauras* and integrated *multilingual vocabularies* of all these tongues with English, Hindi and Urdu parallels. The indispensability of this source-material can hardly be overemphasized; for, a dictionary is not merely an alphabetical list of coinages or terminologies, but has to derive sanction from some sort of *diction* whether preserved in the written treasures or alive in the oral tradition. The programme therefore, calls for the constitution of a **Folklore Squad** of half a dozen competent young scholars trained in the technique of exploration as well as scientific notation of folklore material and equipped with a tape-recorder for the purpose. The material thus collected, would prepare the ground for *anthropological studies* also and provide a correct perspective for researches in the cultural evolution of Kashmir.

These, in brief, are the requisites of *Kashmirology* which have to be minded by all workers in the field.

—(PNP)

SELECT WRITINGS ON KASHMIROLOGY

A. General :

- ✓ 1. A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjacent Districts of Kishtawar etc. (**C. E. Bates**); Calcutta, 1873
- ✓ 2. The Jammoo and Kashmir Territories, (**Frederick Drew**); London, 1875
3. Buhler Report, (**G. Buhler**); Bombay, 1877
- ✓ 4. The Valley of Kashmir, (**Sir Walter R. Lawrence**); London, 1895
- ✓ 5. Jammu and Kashmir State, (**Pandit Anand Kaul**); Calcutta, 1913
- ✓ 6. Kashir, (**Dr M. D. Sufi**); 2 Vols; Lahore, 1948-49
- ✓ 7. Ladākh, (**Alexander Cunningham**); London, 1854

B. Historiography :

1. An Essay on the Hindoo History of Cashmere, (**H. H. Wilson**); *Aisatic Researahes*, XV; Calcutta, 1825
2. A Sketch of the Mahomedan History of Cashmere, (**D. F. J. Newell**); *JASB* (pp 409-60); Calcutta, 1854
- ✓ 3. Gulzāri-Kashmīr (Persian), (**Diwan Kripa Ram**); Srinagar, 1864
- ✓ 4. Gulāb Nāma (Persian), (**Ibid**); Srinagar, 1865

- ✓ 5. Kings of Kashmir, (**J. C. Dutt**);
 ① 3 Vols; Calcutta, 1879-98
6. Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir,
[Sir Aurel Stein]; Westminster, 1900
7. Rājagān-i-Rājaur (Urdu),
[Mirza Zaffar-ullah Khan]; Jullundhar, 1907
- ✓ 8. Mukammal Tārīkh-i-Kashmir (Urdu),
[Munshi Mohmmad ud-Din Fauq]; Lahore, 1910
9. Tārīkh-i-Kishtawar (Urdu),
[Pir Najam ud-Din Shahābādī]; Srinagar, 1915
10. The chronology and Genealogy of
 the Mohammadan Kings of
 Kashmir, **[W. Haig]**;
 JRAS (pp 451-68); London, 1918
- ✓ 11. The Kashmiri Pandit,
[Pandit Anand Kaul]; Calcuttla, 1924
12. Tārīkh-i-Rājagān-i-Jammu wa
 Kashmir (Urdu), **[Thākur
 Kāhan Singh Bilawariā]**; Lahore, 1929-31
- ✓ 13. Gulāb Singh. **[K. M. Pannikar]**; Lahore, 1930
14. River of Kings, **[R. S. Pandit]**; Allahabad, 1934
15. History of the Kishtawar State,
[J. Hutchinson and J. Vogel];
 JPHS, IV (pp 30-38); Lahore
16. Hitory of the Jammu State, **[Ibid]**;
 JPHS, VIII (pp 103-51); **Ibid**

17. History of the Poonch State, [**Ibid**];
JPHS, IX (pp 106-27); **Ibid**
18. History of the Rajauri State, [**Ibid**];
JPHS, IX (pp 131-49) **Ibid**
19. Tārīkh-i-Rājagān-i- Jammu (Urdu),
✓ [**Hashmat-ullah Khan**]; Lucknow, 1939
20. Tārīkh-i- Badāshāhī (urdu)
✓ [**Munshi M. D. Fauq**]; Lahore, 1944
21. Tārīkh-i- Hasan (Persian),
✓ Vols I and II, [**Pir Hasan Shāh**];
(edited by Prof. Hasan Shah); Srinagar, 1954
22. A History of Kashmiri Pandits;
✓ [**Jia Lal Kilam**]; Srinagar. 1955
23. Early History and Culture of
Kashmir, [**Dr Sunil Chandra Ray**]; Calcutta, 1957
24. Kashmir under the Sultans,
✓ [**Mohibbul Hasan**]; Calcutta, 1959

C. Art and Archaeology:

1. Essay on the Arian Order of
Architecture, [**A. Cunningham**];
JASB; Calcutta, 1848
2. Notes on some of the Temples
✓ of Kashmir, [**W. G. Cowie**], JASB; Calcutta, 1866
3. Illustrations of Ancient Buildings
in Kashmir, [**H. H. Cole**]; London, 1869
4. Architecture of Kashmir,
[**F. S. Growse**]; Calcutta Review,
IV (pp 15-34); Calcutta, 1872

SELECT WRITINGS

11

5. The Ancient Geography of Kashmir,
[**M. A. Stein**]; JASB, LXVIII, Part I,
Extra No. 2; Calcutta, 1899
6. Mohammadan Architecture in
Kashmir, [**W. H. Nicholls**],
ASIR (1906-7); Calcutta, 1909
7. Pre-Mohammadan Monuments of
Kashmir, [**Daya Ram Sahni**],
ASIR, II; Calcutta, 1915-16
8. Handbook of the Archaeological and
Numismatic Sections of the Museum
[**R. C. Kak**]; Srinagar, 1923
9. Memoirs of the Archaeological
Survey of Kashmir, I, [**Ibid**]; Srinagar, 1924
10. Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,
[**Ibid**]; London, 1933
11. Archaeological Remains in Kashmir,
[**Pandit Anand Kaul**]; Lahore, 1935
12. Excavations at Burjhama,
[**H. De. Terra**]; Miscellanea of the
American Philosophical Society; U. S. A., 1936
13. Indian Painting in the Panjab
Hills, [**W. G. Archer**]; London, 1952
14. Mārg (Heritage of Kashmir
Number); Vol VIII, No. 2; Bombay, 1955
15. Basohli Painting,
[**M. S. Randhawa**]; Calcutta, 1959

D. Numismatics:

1. Coins of the Kings of Delhi and Kashmir. [**J. C. Delmerick**];
JASB, XIV (pp 291-97); Calcutta, 1876
2. The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir, [**C. J. Rogers**]; JASB, XLVIII (pp 277-85); Calcutta, 1879
3. The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir [**Ibid**]; JASB, LIV, (pp 92-139); Calcutta, 1885
4. Later Indo - Scythians, [**A. Cunningham**]; London, 1893
5. Coins of Mediaeval India from the Seventh Century down to the Muhammadan Conquest, [**Ibid**]; London, 1894
6. Rare Kashmir Coins [**C. J. Rogers**]; JASB, LXV (pp 223-25); Calcutta, 1896
7. The Gold Coins of Kashmir, [**R. B. Whitehead**]; The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Society, Vol 13 (pp 257-67); London

E. Folklore

- ✓ 1. A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs, [**J. Hinton Knowles**];
Bombay, Calcutta & London, 1885
2. Kashmiri Riddles [**Ibid**], JASB, LVI (pp 135 ff); Calcutta, 1887

3. Folktales of Kashmir, [**Ibid**]; London, 1893
4. Hatim's Tales, [**Stein and Grierson**]; London, 1923
5. Ocean of Stories (translated by
C. H. Tawney),
[Edited by **N. M. Penzer**]; London, 1924-283
6. Kashmiri Riddles,
[**Pandit Anand Kaul**];
IA, LXII (pp 21-28); Bombay, 1933
7. Kashmiri Proverbs, [**Ibid**];
Ibid (pp 71-76); Bombay, 1933
8. Kashmiri Lyrics, [**J. L. Kaul**]; Srinagar, 1948

F. Linguistics :

1. A Vocabulary of the Kashmiri Language,
[**W. J. Elmslie**]; London, 1872
2. A Kashmiri Grammar (in Urdu),
[**Pandit Bishun Narayan**]; Lahore, 1873
3. A Grammar of the Kashmiri Language,
[**T. R. Wade**]; London, 1888
4. The Kāśmīraśabdāmṛtam (Sanskrit)
[**Īśvara Kaula**];
(edited by **Grierson**); Calcutta, 1898
5. The Language of the Mahānayayaprakāśa,
[**G. A. Grierson**];
Memoir ASB, XI, No. 2; Calcutta
6. Essays on Kashmiri Grammar, [**Ibid**];
London & Calcutta, 1899

7. The Piśāca Languages of
North-Western India, [**Ibid**] ; Calcutta, 1906
 8. A Manual of the Kashmīri Language,
[**Ibid**] ; Oxford, 1911
 9. Linguistic Survey of India, [**Ibid**] ;
Vol VIII, Part II ; Calcutta, 1919
 10. A Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language,
[**Ibid**] ; Calcutta, 1916-32
 11. Neuter Gender in Bhadrawahi,
[**Dr S. Varma**] ; IL, I ; Calcutta, 1931
 12. Kashmiri Made Easy, [**Ernest F. Neve**] ; 1934
 13. English-Kashmiri Vocabulary, [**Ibid**] ; Mysore
 14. The Pronunciation of Kashmiri,
[**T. Grahame Bailey**] ; London, 1939
 15. A Short Account of the Dogri Dialect,
[**Gaurishankar**] ; IL, VII, Part I ; Calcutta, 193
 16. Notes on a Linguistic Tour in Kashmir
[**Dr S. Varma**] ; IL, XIII, 2 & 3 ;
Calcutta, 1940-41
 17. The Phonology of Kashmiri,
[**George Morgenstierne**] ;
Acta Orientalia, XX ; Leiden, 1943
- G. Literary History and Criticism :
1. Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva,
[**Edited by P. Peterson**] ; Bombay, 1886

2. Sanskrit Poetics, [S. K. De] ; London, 1923
3. Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata (with
Abhinava-Bhārati),
[Edited by **Rama Krishna Kavi**] ;
Baroda, 1926-34
- ✓ 4. Bahār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir (Persian
and Urdu), [Compiled by Bekhabar
and Shauq] ; Allahabad, 1931-34
5. Kashmiri's Contribution to Sanskrit Poetry,
[P. N. Pushp] ; Poona Orientalist.
XV (pp 90-III) ; Poona, 1951
- ✓ 6. Kshemendra Studies,
[Dr Surya Kant] ; Poona Orientalist,
XVII (Nos 1-4), Poona, 1952
7. Āchārya Kshemendra (Hindi),
[Dr Manohar Lal Gauṛ] ; Aligarh, 1955
8. Dhvanyāloka (English translation),
[Dr K. Krishnamoorthy] ; Poona, 1955
- ✓ 9. Kashmiri Zabān Aur Shā'iri (Urdu)
[Abdul Ahad Azad] ; Srinagar, 1959

H. Religion and Philosophy :

1. Śivasūtravimarsīnī (Eng. Translation),
[P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar] ; Allahabad, 1912
- ✓ 2. Kashmiri Shaivism,
[J. C. Chatterji] ; Srinagar, 1914

3. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies,
✓ (for details see the end); Srinagar, 1914-1960
4. The Wise Sayings of Lal Ded
✓ [Grierson and Barnett]; London, 1920
5. The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess,
[Sir Richard Temple]; Cambridge, 1924
6. Abhinavagupta : A Study,
[K. C. Pandey]; Banaras, 1936
7. Indian Aesthetics, [Ibid]; Banaras, 1950
8. Bhāskarī, Vol III, [Ibid]; Lucknow, 1954
- ✓ 9. Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh.
[J. N. Ganahar and P. N. Ganahar];
Delhi, 1956
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[Dr R. K. Kaw];
The Sharda-Peetha Research Series,
Vols I & II; Srinagar, 1959-60

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MIR ILĀHI (973-1063 A.H.)

(N. L. Koul, 'Tālib')

Mīr Ilāhī whose name is given as Imād-ud Dīn Mahmūd Husainī by Dr. Sufi, was a descendant of the Sayyids of Iran. His ancestors belonged to Asadābād, Hamadān. Pīr Ghulām Mahi-ud Dīn Qādrī Sulaimānī, a resident of Mahalla Zaina Kadal, Srinagar, who traces his descent to the poet and has written a booklet entitled "Zikr-us Sālihih" giving a detailed account of the poet says that Mīr Ilāhī was descended from the line of Hazrat Ali Murtaza. According to this writer Mīr Ilāhī's original name was Sayyid Abu Sulaimān Nasir-ud Dīn Mīr Ilāhī and that of his father Sayyid Abu Ubaid Ullah Qādrī, who was a great scholar and had migrated to India during the reign of Akbar. Here he busied himself in spreading spiritual knowledge and in 1000 A.H., wrote a book entitled "Sahāif-ul M'ārifā" which deals with spiritual topics and also contains an account of his ancestors. He passed away at Akbarabad in 1011 A. H.

Mīr Ilāhī was born in 973 A. H. He lived at Isfahān for a number of years under Shāh Abbās I, in frequent intercourse with the poet Hakim Shifāi Sharaf-ud Dīn Husain and Aqa Razi. According to Khwaja Moham-mad Āzam, the historian, he was a pupil of the latter. He came to India during the reign of Jahangir when he had already made a name as a poet and received munificent rewards from the emperor. When the latter visited Kashmir in 1036 A. H. he asked the poet to accompany him here. On his return from Kashmir Jahangir took him along with himself. The poet

-
1. Published, Karimi Press, Lahore, 1350 A. H.

could not help accompanying him though he did not like the idea of leaving this beautiful Valley. Later when Zafar Khān was appointed Governor of Kashmir for the second time by Shāh Jahān in 1053 A. H. and asked to furnish a surety for a just and benevolent rule in Kashmir, Mīr Ilāhi, who was present there, exclaimed extempore:

Khudā Zāmin Rasūl-o cāryārash !

“God is (his) surety as well as the prophet and his four Companions.”

The King was delighted at this and allowed the Khān to proceed to Kashmir. The Khan who was enamoured of the poet, however, secured the King's permission to take him along with himself.

Mīr Ilāhi was a poet of a very high order. Mulla Tughra in his “Tazkirat-ul Atqiya” speaks very highly of his *qasidās* and *ghazals* and other forms of verse. Mīr Ghulām Ali Azād the author of “Ma'Sir-ul Kiram” likewise admits that his verses are sweet and full of charm. Nawāb Sayyid Sadiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal in his Memoirs of poets entitled ‘Shama-i-Anjuman’ also praises the quality of his poems.

The poet more or less passed twenty years of his life in Kashmir and died in 1063 A. H. He was buried in the graveyard of Hazrat Sheikh Bahā-ud Din Ganj Bakhsh.

Apart from his *Dīwān* comprising 5000 verses in the form of *ghazals*, *qasidas*, and fragments etc. he is credited with a *Tazkira* (Memoir of poets).

Ākhund Mullā Shāh, a reputed Sūfī of Badakhshān (who also settled in Kashmir later) is said to have composed the following verse which was recorded in letters of gold:-

Pādshāhī rā guzār-o doost-āgāhī guzīn
Cūn ba āgāhī rasīdī har ceh mīkhwāhī guzīn

“Give thou up sovereignty and seek God-realisation.
When thou hast realised Him, thou mayst seek
whatsoever thou desirest”.

When this verse came to the notice of Mīr Ilāhī, he added the following improvisation below the above:-

Man namī goyam gadāyī yā shahanshāhī guzīn
Khwish rā bigūzīn wa dīgār har ceh mīkhwahī guzīn

“I do not say that thou shouldst seek sovereignty or
mendicancy,
Seek thou self-realisation and then seek whatever
thou likest.”

The Mulla could not but acknowledge the superiority of Mir's idea. Here are a few specimens of the poets' verse as quoted by several writers :-

Cunān arzān matā-e zindagī rā mī diham azkaf
Ki goyā kārawān-e umr mī āyad zipas mārā

“I am parting with the commodity of life at such a
cheap rate,
As if a caravan of life is following at my heels.”

Sūda mī gardad zabān dar wasf-i zulfat shāna rā
matla-e k̤hurshīd mī sāzad ruḡhat kāshāna rā

nīm jū hāsil na shud kām az falak kār taṅg cashm
khosha sār dar kīsa pinhār mī kunad har dāna rā

"The tongue of the comb wears away in praise of
thy tresses.

Thy face turns the balcony into the rising place of
the sun.

My object has not been achieved from the heaven
in the smallest degree, for this covetous one,

Conceals every grain in its pocket in the manner
of an ear (of corn)."

Dil khud ba rūzgār-i jawānī kabāb būd
mū-e safed shud namake bar kabāb-i mā

"The heart by itself was a-roast during the period
of youth,
Thy grey hair has served the purpose of salt to it."

Cashmat az har gardishe bā yār ahde tāza bast
khat-i mushkīnat kitāb-i husn rā shīrāza bast

"By each movement have thy eyes entered into a
covenant with the friend.
Thy musky down has bound the volume of beauty."

Rukhsār-i tu āb dar'rukhi gul naguzāsht
zulf-i tu shikan ba jad-i sambul naguzāsht
tā hamcu bahār az gulsitār raftī
gul naubat-i faryād ba bulbul naguzāsht

Thy cheeks deprived the rose of its colour
(And)thy tresses the curls of hyacinth of their folds,
Since thou left the garden like the spring
The rose did not leave it to the nightingale to
raise a cry."

Rūy darham mī kashad az rū e mā āina ham
cīni pīshāni-st goyā āya-e dar shān-i mā

'Even the mirror frowns at our face,
The wrinkle over the forehead, it seems, is (the
revelation of) a Quranic verse in our case."

Az dūri-at ai tāza gul-e bāgh-e murād
cūn ghuñca-e cīdah khandah-am rafta ziyād
giryān cu pyalaa-e puram dar kaf-i mast
nālān cu subū-e khālī-am dar rah-i bād

'O fresh rose of my disire-garden! due to thy
separation
Laughter has' been plucked from my memory like
a bud.

I am shedding tears like a cup brimming over in a
tippler's hand

[And] lamenting like an empty jar
[rattling] in the path of wind."

Ya ilāhī ze ilāhi tu ceh pursi dar hashar
ānceh o kard tu dīdī wa ceh guftan dārad

'O God ! what dost thou enquire from Ilāhi on the
Judgment Day ?

Whatever he has done thou hast seen, what else
is to be said now ?"

Zamāna baski marā khāksār-i mardum kard
ze āb-i dīda-e man mī tawān tayammum kard

"Time has made me the most dusty (: humblest)
of all people;

Ablutions could be performed with my tears."

Du ālam garceh bar rūe nigār-i mā hijāb āyad
Ze paidāe jamālash dar nazar pīsh az naqāb āyad

'Although the two worlds conceal the face of our
sweatheart,

It comes to view before her veil as soon as her
beauty appears."

Aib-o hunar majūe ilāhī ze kufr-o dīn
'āshiq ba millat-i khud-o 'arīf badīn-i khwīsh

"O Ilahi! seek not virtue and vice in faith and
infidelity,
A lover has his own creed and agnostic his own faith,"

Āgah az ishq na būdam ke cisañ mībāshad
be khabar kard cunānam ke khabardar shudam

"I did not know in what manner love worked (but);
It made me self-oblivious in such a way that I became
conscious of it."

Shab-i hijrañ ze bas labriz-e kulfat gashta am rezad
Cu gard az dāman-i mizhgān nigāh-e hairatālūdam

"During the night of separation I was distressed
to such an extreme

That my bewildered look was cast from the skirt
of eyelashes just as dust is shed."

Ze bas tarāwat-i rūesh na mī tawāñ dānist
ke shabnamast ba gul yā girah ba pīshānī

"Due to the extreme freshness of her face one
cannot make out

Whether it is a dew-drop on the rose or a wrinkle
on her forehead."

New Light on Old Problems :-

THE DĀMARAS OF KASHMIR

[Dr. (Miss) KRISHNA MOHAN M. A., Ph. D. (Lond)]

The term *Dāmara* is of common occurrence in the *Rājataranginī* and the people to whom it relates play a very significant part in the history of Kashmir, especially during the times of the first and the second Lohara dynasties—A.D. 1003-1171.

“The word *Dāmara*” states Stein, “in the sense in which it is used in the *Rājataranginī* and the later chronicles has not yet been traced outside Kashmir”.¹

The authors of the St. Petersburg Lexicon, with reference to a possible etymology, suggested that the word might have had originally a more general meaning, “riotous”, “rebel”². “The true purport of the term”, adds Stein, “was recognized only in a brief supplementary note of that work which produces a suggestion of Prof. H. Kern assigning to *Dāmara* the meaning *Bojār*, i. e. feudal landowner or baron”.³

(1) *Rājataranginī* tr. Stein Vol. II. p 304.

(2) *Petersburg Wortherbuch*. Vol. III. p. 185. *Rājat.* Vol. II. P.

(3) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol. II. p. 304. of P.W. VII. 1747 of *Culavainśa* lexiv. 22.43. *Dāmarikatta* is used for acts of violence.

There is no denying the fact that the *Dāmara*s were really landowners, but we have doubts about the possible meaning "riotous" or "rebel", assigned to the word *Dāmara* in this particular case. Taking the word as etymologically connected with the root *Dam* "to sound as a drum", as suggested by the St. Petersburg we can say that it might have originally been given to one of the indigenous tribes because of the boorishness and the riotous nature of these hilly people, and from that it may have been adopted to signify all such people in the land.

The word *Dāmara* is found also in Jayaratha's commentary on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*¹ where it is mentioned as one of the sixty-four tantras (a class of works teaching mystical formulae)². It is curious to note the same word being applied to a ritualistic text and to a class of people.

- (1) Jayaratha's commentary on the *Tantrāloka* I, 42-43. Jayaratha provides the list of sixty-four monistic Tantras on the authority of the Śrīkanthī, a Śaiva work. (Quoted by Pandey, Abhinavagupta, p. 80).
- (2) Monier Williams; p. 436, Col. I

Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhat Samhitā* mentions *Dāmara* in the list of the countries of the North Eastern region along with :¹.

Meruka, Naṣṭarājya, Paśupāla, Kīra, Kaśmīra, Abhiśārada, Tangaṇa, Kulūta, Saicindha Rāṣṭra, Brahmapura, Dārva. *Dāmara*, Vana-rājya, Kirāta, Cina, Kaṇṇinda, Bhalla, Palola, Jaṭāsura, Kanātha, Khaṣa. Ghoṣa, Kuciṣa, Ekacarāṇa Anuviśva, Svarṇabhūmi, Arnasudhana, Nandaviṣṭha, Paurava, Cīra-nivāsana, Trinetra, Puñjādri and Gandharva.

In this list we have names of people like *Paśupāla* and *Trinetra*, which are epithets of the God *Śiva*. *Dāmara*, as already stated above, is the name of a tantra in *Śaivite* Tantric religion and *Dāmara* is also the name of one of the attendants of *Śiva*.

In Kashmir we find many references to people named after their tribal epithets, such as *Lavanya*², *Balahara*³, *Tantrin*⁴, and the like.

(1) *Bṛhat Samhitā*; Ch. XIV. Verses 29-30.

(2) *Lavanya* : a tribal group corresponding to *Lūn* (now **Lon**) *Kṛām*. See Stein tr. VIII. 2767 note. *Rājat*, VII. 1171, 1229, 1230, 1233, 1237, 1238 VIII. 747, 776, 910, 956, 1010, 1032, 1268, 2538, 3447, Also see Stein *Rājat*. tr. Vol. II. p 523.

(3) *Rājat*. VIII. 2695, 2768.

(4) *Rājat*. V. 248-50, 255, 260, 265-66 274-75, 287, 289, 293-95, 302, 328, 331, 338-40, 421, 431, VI. 132; VII 1531, VIII. 292, 303, 375, 510, 597-928.

Tracing these words to Sanskrit roots does not always help with the identification of the people to whom they refer. They may well be based on words in no way connected with Classical Sanskrit. Some of the names of Varāhamihira's list occur in the *Rājataranṅiṇī*. We come across *Dārvā-bhisār*—a clear reference to *Dārva* and *Abhisāra* as a joint name, and it has been identified by Stein with the lower hills between Jhelum and Chinab.

Stein refers to *Kīra*, appearing in the ethnographic list of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā* (XIV, 29), as the name of a race located in the North-East along with *Kaśhmīras*, *Abhisāra* and *Dārads*². In the Chamba copper-plate grant of Āṣata, the *Kīras* are named between the Durgaras, (Dogras) and Trigartas (:Kangra).³

Excluding, of course, the purely legendary names, Stein recognises the *Abhisāras*, *Dārads*, *Dārvas*, *Khaśas*, *Kīras* and even the distant *Kulūtas* and *Kaunindas* or *Kaulindras* "as the names of the tribes which undoubtedly must

(1) *Rājat.* VIII. 1531, Stein *Rājat.* tr. Vol. I. Book. I 180, note.

(2) Stein, *Rājat.* tr. VIII. 2767, note.

(3) *Ind. Ant.* XVII. p. 9.

be located in the immediate neighbourhood of Kashmir".¹ As we have such people inhabiting the North-Eastern division of India according to *Varāhamihira's* classification, and as some of them have been identified by Stein, we can take *Dāmara* as one of them. Moreover, the *Brhat-Samhitā* was written much earlier than the *Rājataranginī*. It is, however, curious that the *Dāmara* in this ethnographical list missed Stein's notice, though he mentions the *Kīras* and others, who appear in the same verse, and takes them even as tribes. Perhaps taking the word etymologically and being quite convinced of its connection with "riot" or "strife", rather than of its being a tribal name, he did not notice it.

As already mentioned we have other examples of the use of tribal names in Kashmir² to designate special sections of the people. In the *Rājataranginī* we find the *Tantrins* referred to as a body of foot-soldiers; these probably derived their designation from their tribal name, and owed their close organisation to ethnic

(1) Stein; *Rajat* tr. Vol. II, p. 365, note.

(2) *Supra*, p. 3.

affinities, but their original appellation was assimilated to the Sanskrit word "tantra".

Kalhana, while describing King *Lalitāditya*'s injunctions on state policy, specifically¹ mentions the hill people first, and then he speaks of not allowing the villagers to have more food than is required for one year's consumption; otherwise, they would become terrible *Dāmaras*. It is, perhaps, from this verse that Wilson concluded that the *Dāmaras* were a fierce intractable tribe inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir.

Could it possibly be that the hill people referred to by *Lalitāditya* are the original *Dāmaras* whose specific characteristics might have given their name to the turbulent section of Kashmir society ?

We have references in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* wherein *Dāmara* and *Lavanya* are indiscriminately used for separate groups of people or for one and the same person². *Kalhana* gives us no evidence to show what the term *Lavanya* originally meant or how it came to be applied. As shown by Stein it is a tribal name still surviving

(1) *Rājat.* IV, 347-48.

(2) *Rājat.* VIII, 48, 747, 780, 1032 & 1033, 1124 & 1127, 1992 & 1993, 2099 & 2012, 2337 & 2338.

to this day in the *Krām* name *Lūn*, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir¹. "From the way in which", he adds, "*Kalhana* employs the name in the passages referred to, and from various others in which *Lavanyas* are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of *Dāmaras* was recruited from that tribal section. If this was the case the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations is easily accounted for²."

Basing his view on the geographical distribution of the *Dāmaras* in the whole of the valley of Kashmir and the mention of the epithet *Lavanya* for the first time in the reign of *Harṣa*, B. P. Mazumder suggests that the *Dāmara* did not belong to a particular tribe.³ He adds: "Some *Dāmaras* have been called *Lavanyas* and from this Wilson concluded that all of them belonged to a tribe inhabiting the north of Kashmir⁴." It was from the passage referring to king *Lalitāditya*'s injunctions to his ministers that Wilson concluded the above and not from the fact of *Dāmaras* being termed

(1) Stein; *Rājat* tr. Vol. II p. 306.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) B. P. Mazumdar; Indian History Congress

(4) Mazumdar quotes Wilson's Essay on the Hind History of Kashmir A. S. Res. Vol. XV. pp. 51-70.

as *Lavanya*¹. As it is seen from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and as B. P. Mazumdar has himself stated, the term *Lavanya* occurs for the first time in the reign of king *Harṣa*²; while king *Lalitāditya*'s time is much earlier. From Stein's note³ that *Kalhana*, in making king *Lalitāditya* set forth the principles of Kashmir policy, is thinking in reality of his own times, one may be led to believe with him that the reference to the *Dāmara* at this early date is due to *Kalhana*'s imagination working into earlier times. We have, however, clear evidence in the cases of the minister *Śūra* and king *Cakravarman* that much earlier than *Kalhana*'s own time *Dāmaras* had become quite powerful and were a terror to the rest of the population. As shown by Stein himself, we find characteristic indication of their growing influence during the period of comparative consolidation which followed *Yaśaskara*'s⁴ accession (939-48) and queen *Didā*'s advent to power⁵. Both under *Unmattāvantī* (937-39) and *Diddā* (980/1-1003) special mention is made of the success of the royal

(1) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol. II. p. 304.

(2) *Rājat.* VII. 1171.

(3) Stein; *Rājat.* IV 348. note

(4) *Rājat.* V. 48, 405, ff.

(5) Stein; *Rājat.* Vol. II. p. 305.

commanders-in-chief in coercive measures against the *Dāmaras*.¹

As regards their original home Mazumdar suggests that "the Lavanyas had come from the Lavana Parvata, which is contiguous (sic) to Kashmir. *Prthvīhara* and his son *Koṣṭheśvara* have been referred to as *Lavanyas* and *Dāmaras* *Trillaka* as *Dāmara* and a *Lavanya*, was a relative of *Koṣṭheśvara*. It is likely that they or their ancestors had come originally from Lavana Parvata and settled in Kashmir."² Mazumdar seems to have misunderstood the word *Krām*, (originally meaning family appellation) when he wrongly quotes Stein, saying "Stein thinks that the Lavanyas were a tribal people inhabiting the Kram named Lun." As already quoted, what Stein actually says is "Lavanaya is a tribal name still surviving in this day in the *Kram* name *Lūn*, borne by a considerable section of the agricultural population of Kashmir".³

It is from this misunderstanding of the

(1) Stein; *Rājat*. Vol. II. p. 305. see *Rajat*. V. 447, VI. 353.

(2) B.P. Mazumdar; *Indian History Congress* 1946. p. 195.

(3) See *Supra*. p. 5.

words *Krām* and *Lūn* that Mazumdar has suggested their original habitat as Lavana Parvata. We do not understand what specific area he means to suggest; whether he is thinking of the salt Range of the Punjab hills or any other place. We have, however, Lavaṇotsa said to be a town founded by prince Baka of Mihirakula's race¹.

Stein could not find the position of Lavaṇotsa, though the place is several times mentioned by Kalhaṇa. From a certain passage², Stein understands that *Srīnagra* could be reached by a single forced march from Lavaṇotsa and that Padmapura (modern Pampur), lay on the route. He cites other references which suggest that Lavaṇotsa was situated near one of the high roads leading to *Srīnagra* from abroad. This area is nowhere near the Punjab Salt Range.

In Wilson's Glossary of Indian terms, the word "Lavana" is stated to mean 'Reaping' and

(1) Stein; *Rājat.* tr. I. 39 note:

(2) Stein; *Rājat.* tr. VII. 762 ff.

(3) Wilson; *Glossary of Judicial & Revenue Terms.* p. 310.

(4) M. Williams; p. 898. Obviously follows Stein.

from that in Hindi the term *Lavani* or *Launi* as wages in kind to reapers at harvest time, also 'reaping', 'cultivating'. Monier Williams takes '*Lavana*' from the root *Lu*, to cut or reap as meaning one who reaps and *Lavanya* as the name of a particular tribe in the *Rājataranginī*. The name of *Lavanya* may signify the original reaping or agricultural profession of the *Lavanyas* or *Dāmaras*.

In Kashmir even at present we find that the Pandits are broken up into numerous gotras, and each gotra has many *Krāms*, or tribal sub-divisions. The *Krām* name is often the relic of a nickname applied to the ancestor of the sub-division¹. As suggested by Stein "the Lavanyas must have formed an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir and their name, like that of the Tantrins, survives in a modern *Krām* name of frequent occurrence viz. *Lun*²." He further adds that though the passages referring to them do not tell us anything of their origin, they show that many of them must have held a position of influence as landowners or tribal headmen³.

(1) Lawrence, *Valley*. 304.

(2) Stein, *Rājat*. tr. VII. 1171. note.

(3) *Ibid* CC-0. Kashmir Research Institute. Digitized by eGangotri

Their tribal name thus seems to have originated from their being landowners. Luns are found throughout the valley and according to villagers' statement recorded by Lawrence they are said to have come from Cilas¹. Stein, however, could not trace any such tradition and suggested that the mass of the *Dāmaras* was recruited from the *Lavanya* tribal section and, therefore, the indifferent use of the ethnic and class designations became common².

We have already noted that the name *Lavanya* came to be used for the first time during the reign of king Harsa and these people figure prominently in the reigns of succeeding kings. If the mass of *Dāmaras* had been recruited from this tribal section, it would not have been mentioned so late. On the other hand, we believe that the *Lavanya* must have formed a tribal sub-section, and being an influential section of the agricultural population must have been classed with the *Dāmara* tribe, and hence the indiscriminate use of the epithets *Lavanyas* and *Dāmaras* for the same people. Moreover, if we believe

(1) Lawrence; *Valley* p. 306.

(2) *Supra*, p. 7

with Stein that *Lavanya* was a tribal name, we are compelled to believe even more strongly that *Dāmara* started as a tribal rather than as a class name. For, if the name *Lavanya*, originally tribal, could be applied indiscriminately to the *Dāmaras*, *Dāmara* might equally well be taken originally as a tribal name later assigned to all those who acquired a certain position by means of agricultural revenue and trade.

Thus from the above references to tribal names we can safely assume that the word *Dāmara* started as the name of a people and from the special characteristics of this people it was later applied to all those people who attained a certain position in society. In other words, beginning as a tribal name it became later used as a class name, as is shown by the fact that *Lavanyas* are sometimes termed *Dāmaras*. Moreover, in Kashmir to-day we have *Lons* (*Lavanyas*) and *Dārs* (*Dāmaras*) as two separate castes ¹.

The whole of the history of medieval Kashmir in full of the struggle of the monarchy against this section of society, which not only endangered the very existence of the ruling dynasty, but also became a terror to the rest of

(1) Fauq : *Tārīkh-i-Aqwām-i- Kashmir*; pp 280 ff.

the population. The *Dāmaras* appear to have been rather like the *Bataka*¹ or heads of the iddigene class of Buganda, who exercised their authority by immemorial right. At first they do not appear to have been very strong, but later, under weak rulers, we find them very powerful and they emerge into a position of great importance by the time of the Lohara dynasties. The whole of the strife during the times of the Lohara dynasties may be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the kings to superimpose a system of political authority on tribal custom and of the *Dāmaras* trying to assert their authority and attain offices of state, especially when they had made themselves economically secure.

A question, here, of great importance is how far the *Dāmara* was a "bojār" - feudal landowner or baron². The service of both the *Sāmantas* and the *Dāmaras* was based on land tenure. The *Sāmantas* and the *Dāmaras* or *Lavanyas*, though parts of the general feudal order, are mentioned as two separate entities in

- (1) Meek: *Land, Law & Custom in the Colonies*, p. 132.
 (2) Hutchison & Vogel: *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. 1. p. 17.

the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* ¹. Kalhaṇa generally mentions the *Sāmantas* favourably ², while as regards the *Dāmaras*, he is full of scorn and hatred ³. In view of the anarchic conditions when the *Dāmaras* were constantly encouraging claimants to the throne or rising in revolt themselves, it was natural for Kalhaṇa to have cherished bitter feelings against these local lords. The struggle does not appear to have been waged between the monarchy and the feudal organisation as a whole, but between the kings and the *Dāmaras*; for the *Sāmantas* are regularly found to be fighting on the side of kings against the *Dāmaras*. Kalhaṇa, surprisingly, gives no instance of a rebel *Sāmanta*.

In the earlier books of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* the *Dāmaras* are only once mentioned as *Sāmantas*, ⁴ which shows that occasionally a *Dāmara* loyal to the king might be incorporated into the regular feudal order established under his leadership. On the other hand, we have many references ⁵ where *Sāmantas* and *Dāmaras* are mentioned as separate classes. In a cer-

(1) *Rājat.* cf. VIII. 1072-1073, 909-910.

(2) *Rājat.* V. 405, 406;

(3) *Rājat.* VIII. 7.

(4) *Rājat.* V. 395

(5) *Rājat.* V. 446-447, V. 451-454; VIII. 1078.

tain verse Kalhaṇa specifically uses the word 'Dāmarakula', "Dāmara tribe", to differentiate one part of the army from the regular Kashmirian soldiers from various feudatory families¹. If the Dāmaras had formed a part of the regular feudal organisation there would have been no necessity of mentioning them separately. Moreover they would have been liable to all the obligations and eligible for all the privileges of the Sāmantas.

In the above quoted reference Kalhaṇa even seems to distinguish between Dāmaras and Kashmirians, as though he scornfully rejects their rights to be looked up on as authentic members of the Community². Could it be due to their descent from a tribal section of Kashmir society?

As regards the conditions under which their landed property, the basis of their influence was acquired and held, Stein suggested that "a kind of service-tenure, the grant of land in return for military or other services, may have been the original foundation of the system"³.

(1) *Rājat.* VIII. 1078.

(2) *Rājat.* VIII. 887, 1078.

Kalhaṇa mentions a coalition of Kashmirian, Khaṣa and Mleccha forces sent by Bhikṣācara against king Sussala at Lohara. The distinction is made in the same way as Kalhaṇa does in the above quoted verse between Dāmaras and Kashmirians.

(3) Stein; *Rājat.* tr. Vol. II, p. 307.

He made this suggestion on comparing the conditions prevailing in other parts of India and in the absence of any exact data, he took it as a mere conjecture.

In an earlier instance king Cakravarman (935), after losing his throne, came to the house of the *Dāmara Samgrāma* and asked for his help to get it back ¹. The *Dāmara* made him promise to look upon all of his class at all times in kindness. Thereafter they entered into a solemn pact by placing their feet on a sheep-skin sprinkled with blood, and mutually took an oath by sacred libation, sword in hand ². It was only after this agreement had been made that king Cakravarman was able to collect a numberless host of *Dāmaras* to help him. From this particular case it appears that if there had been any definite system of land-tenure based on relations of mutual protection and military service between the king and the *Dāmara*, there would not have been any necessity of the two parties entering into such an agreement at this time. Nor is the king anywhere described as reminding the *Dāmaras* of their sworn duty

(1) *Rājat* V. 306.

(2) *Ibid*; 326.

towards him. After having regained the throne with their help we find him again forgetting his promise and persecuting them ¹. The fact that king Cakravarman was no longer the ruling sovereign at the time strengthens our point that *Samgrāma* was free to enter into agreement with anyone, whether he was on the throne or not, for if this were not so, his allegiance would have been transferred to the new king, the moment Cakravarman was dethroned.

We do not find even a single reference in the whole of the chronicle, which could throw light on the relations between the *Dāmaras* and their numerous troops. But *Samgrāma's* condition to the king Cakravarman, "if you promise to look upon us all in kindness. I march before you with troops on the morrow", shows that some sort of service-tenure must have existed between the *Dāmaras* and their followers, who would march at their lord's command. The *Dāmara* troops apparently did not have any direct relations with the king, and it was only after the agreement that they followed their chief to help him.

(1) Ibid; 405.

There is no mention of any quarrel between the *Dāmaras* leaders and their followers or any rising of the latter. Whether they could not raise their heads for fear of oppression of the leaders or they were kindly treated by them, we cannot say with precision. *Kalhaṇa*'s silence in this respect suggests that the relations between the powerful *Dāmaras* and their followers, who may have been the actual tillers of the soil, must have been quite good. In one ¹ reference it is stated that king *Salhaṇa* (1111-12) persuaded Gargacandra, the all-powerful *Lavanya* minister of his time to give his daughter to him in marriage, but Gargacandra's followers did not wish that he should ally himself with a king who was like a more ghost.

In making a comparison of the features of the *Rājput* society with those of the Middle Ages in Europe, as drawn by Hallow, Tod wrote, "The leading features of Government amongst the semi-barbarous hordes or civilised independent tribes must have a considerable resemblance to each other. In the same stages of society, the wants of men must everywhere be similar, and will produce analogies which are observed to regulate Tartar hordes or German-

(1) *Rājat*; VIII. 441.

tribles, Caledonian clans, the Rajput Kula (race) or Jharaja Bhayyad (brotherhood) ¹ ". To this we may add the *Dāmara* kula.

This system of *Sāmantas* and *Dāmaras* compares with the two classes of *Rājput* landlords in mewar. On is the Girasia *Thakkur* or lord, the other the *Bhumia*. The *Girasīa* chieftain is he who holds 'Giras' by grant (*Paṭṭa*) of the Prince, for which he performs service with specified quotas at home and abroad, renewable at every lapse when all the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief and the investiture take place ². The *Bhumia* does not renew his grant, but holds it on prescriptive possession. He succeeds without any fine, but pays a small annual quit-rent, and can be called upon for local service in the district which he inhabits for a certain period of time. As for the *Sāmantas* or feudal lords of the *Rājataranginī*, we believe that they must have held lands of

(1) Tod: Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan; Vol. I. p. 154

Knowing that *Bhumia* terures "appeared in the parts of Mewar settled since reonolest antiquity where they were defended from oppression by the rocks and wilds in which they obtained a fostering; as in kumbhalmer, the wild of chappan or plains of Mandalgarh, long under the kings, where their agricultural pursuits maintained them". We are reminded of king Lalitāditya's in junctions to his ministers regarding treatment towards people in the hills. Tod Annals Vol. 1 pp 166, 196.

(2) *Ibdi*.

the king but regarding the stipulation of specified quotas at home and abroad, renewals on lapse involving the ceremonies of resumption, the fine of relief, and the investiture we have no evidence whatsoever in the *Rājataranginī* or any of the other sources concerned with the period.

That the *Dāmaras* of the *Rājataranginī* may be compared with the *Bhumia* of Tod's *Annals of Rājasthan* is evident from the story of a *Dāmara* Lakkanacandra ¹, who held the castle of *Dugdhaghāṭa* (modern Dudakhut pass) which guarded the old route to the Darada country. He had been executed by order of king Ananta (1028-63). Subsequently his widow had offered the hill foot to king Kalaśa (1063-89) with a view to better assuring the safety of the neighbouring tract from the inroads of the Daradas, King Kalaśa refused the offer. The stronghold then fell into the power of the Darada king from whom *Harṣa* (1089-1101) subsequently vainly endeavoured to recover it with the assistance of the neighbouring *Dāmaras* ². From this Stein has drawn the conclusion that "strong-holds as well as land had practically become hereditary possess-

(1) *Rājat.* VII, 1171-74.

(2) *Rājat.* VII, 1177-86.

ions in the families of these feudal lords, whenever the central authority in the land was unable or unwilling to assert the right of resumption¹. But why did King Kalaśa refuse the offer? If he did so on account of his weakness and inability to hold the fort, why did not King Ananta take it when he had sufficient strength to accomplish the execution of the *Dāmara* who held it? If he had held the fort of the king by any form of feudal tenure it would have ultimately lapsed to the king after the execution of the *Dāmara* and, again, if the king had any feudal right over it, Kalaśa would have been obliged to accept the offer of the *Dāmara's* wife as a matter of right and duty rather than of favour. That the offer came from the *Dāmara's* wife after the reign of King Ananta², shows that she succeeded to her husband's possession as a matter of right and if any royal sanction was needed, she might have taken it. So we cannot agree with Stein's conclusion that the *Dāmara's* holdings were becoming hereditary by the weakening of the central authority; it would rather seem that they were hereditary by long standing tradition at all times.

In the earlier period we do not find the

(1) *Rājat.* Stein; tr. Vol. II. p. 306.

(2) *Rājat.* VI. 354.

Dāmaras to have formed a part of the regular royal army Queen *Diddā's* commander-in-Chief is seen destroying the hosts of the *Dāmaras*¹. We do not find them in the army sent under Tunga to help *Śāhi* Trilocanapāla against *Mohmūd* of *Ghaznī*. Only in turbulent times of civil strife do we find them taking sides with one or the other faction, usually against the ruling king.

We have not been able to ascertain to which caste these *Dāmaras* belonged. This much is sure that they were not *Brāhmaṇas*. We have reference to *Brāhmaṇas'* fasts owing to the oppression of the *Dāmaras*². Perhaps being the indigenous class they could not be incorporated within the framework of the haughty nobility. In the second *Rājatarangīṇī* they are mentioned as *Dombas*. Lawrence also held that the *Dāmaras* were descendants of *Śudras*³. Whether this epithet was used merely out of scorn or not, this much can be said that they belonged to an inferior class. In a certain passage *Kalhana* praises the wife of the *Dāmara Koṣṭhaka* who became a *Sati* when her husband was mortally wounded and he

(1) *Rājat.* VII. 46-47

(2) *Rājat.* VII. 1229, VIII 658.

(3) Lawrence: *Valley of Kashmir*; p 306.

attributes this exceptional conduct to the lady's noble descent from a family of *Rājputs* ³. As *Sati* was a very common practice at that time and was much esteemed among *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas* especially, it appears that *Dāmara* women, not belonging to the higher strata of society in matters of caste, did not immolate themselves. Moreover, the blood - sprinkling rite, as we have seen above in the case of King Cakravarman and the *Dāmaras* taking pledge together ⁴, was peculiar to the *Dāmaras* and *Khaṣas*, and was not followed by the *Brāhmaṇas*. Such customs are found also among the *Khonds* in other parts of India ⁵.

[Read at the Kashmir RESEARCH FORUM]

June 28, 60.

(3) *Rājat.* VIII. 2334-38.

(4) *Supra.* P. 14.

(5) *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (Hastings); Vol. IX p. 430.

ASPECTS OF KASHMIR ŚAIVISM-I

NATURE OF MIND IN PRATYABHIJÑĀ

(Dr R. K. KAW, M.A., Ph. D.)

In Western Philosophy, rarely do we come across a system which regards mind as different from soul. The 'mind' of Western Psychology generally corresponds in Indian Philosophy to *manas*, *buddhi*, *cit* and *ahankāra*, taken together and called *antaḥkaraṇa* or inner sense organ. These four entities may roughly be translated as 'thought', 'intelligence' or 'knowledge', 'recollection' and 'ego'—all of which in some way or other belong to *Ātman* (self). The only school of Indian philosophy that does not draw distinction between mind and *Ātman* is Buddhism, which does not affirm the existence of *Ātman*. The *Pratyabhijñā* school is peculiar in that, on the one hand, it agrees with other Indian schools in taking three of its categories, *manas* (undetermined thought), *ahankāra* (ego or self-arrogation) and *buddhi* (determined thought), together as *antaḥkaraṇa* or mind at the empirical level, apart from *Ātman*, and, on the other, it draws no distinction between mind and soul in the absolute sense, while affirming the functions of mind as activities of *Ātman* in its *vimarśa* aspect.

In the history of Indian Philosophy evolution of mind as a separate entity, apart from *Ātman*, starts right from the *Upaniṣads*. We shall notice what speculations are held about the nature of mind in various schools before explaining the point of view of the *Pratyabhijñā* school. In *Kāṭha-Upaniṣad* we are told that objects are higher than the senses, *manas* higher than the objects, *buddhi* higher than *manas*, *mahat Ātman* (cosmic person or cosmic intelligence) higher than *buddhi*, *avyakta* (unmanifest) higher than *mahat*, and *Puruṣa* higher than *avyakta* (*Kāṭha*. 3.10). The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* gives the following as the names of *manas*: *Sañjñāna*, *Ājñāna*, *vijñāna*, *prajñāna*, *medhā*, *dr̥ṣṭi*, *dhṛti*, *mati*, *manīṣā*, *jūti*, *smṛti*, *samkalpa*, *kratu*, *asu*, *kāma* and *vasā*. These are translated as 'determinate knowledge, feeling of lordship, differential cognition, intelligence, wisdom, insight, fortitude, deliberation, thoughtfulness, impulse, memory, resolution, purpose, feeling of life, desire and passion for the opposite sex' (*Aitariya*. 3.2). The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* gives the following functions of the *manas*: *Kāma*, *samkalpa*, *vicikitsā* (doubt), *śraddhā* (faith), *ashraddhā* (disbelief), *dhṛti* (fortitude), *adhr̥ti* (unsteadiness), *hr̥i* (modesty), *dhī* (intelligence)

and *bhī* (fear) (*Bṛhadāraṇya*. 1.5.3). Mind, in the Advaita Vedānta school, is the internal organ which consists of four divisions: *manas*, *buddhi*, *ahankāra* and *citta*. The function of *manas* is doubting (whether the object is X or Y), of *Buddhi* is determining (that it is X), of *Citta* is recollecting, and of *Ahankāra* is the attributing of experience to ego. While the Advaita Vedānta regards *buddhi* as an entity, as a subject and not a predicate as a substance and not as an attribute, *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja treats it as a *dharma* or quality. As regards the nature of mind in *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā* school, *Prabhākara* holds that *manas* is substance (*dravya*), atomic (*aṇu*), eternal and extremely mobile, and *Kumārila* treats *manas* as organ (*Indriya*, *Karāṇa*), but according to the latter, it never operates apart from the body. The *Mīmāṃsā* treats it as composed of only one entity, *manas*. In *Sāṅkhya* the *antaḥkarāṇa* consists of only three divisions, *buddhi*, *ahankāra* and *manas*. No place is given to *Citta*, the function of which is included in *buddhi*. According to *Nyāya Vaiśeṣika* school, *Ātman* is essentially consciousness, and the consciousness of *buddhi* is therefore due to the reflection of the consciousness of *Ātman* in it. *Antaḥkarāṇa* consists of *manas* only.

Ātman presides over the activities of body and *manas*. Buddhism has no conception of *manas* apart from *Buddhi*, *citta*, or *Vijñāna*. Some of the Buddhists denied the reality of *Ātman*, and others remained indifferent to the question of its existence. The Buddhists regarded human personality, which they call *pudgala*, as composed of five *skandhas* - aggregates: *rūpaskandha* or the aggregate of matter, *vedanāskandha* or the aggregate of feeling, *Sañjñānaskandha* or the aggregate of concepts, *samskāraśkandha* or the aggregate of latent forces like instincts, and *vijñānaskandha* or the aggregate of consciousness. All these except *rūpaskandha* are mental. The Jaina philosophy, like the orthodox schools, distinguishes between *Ātman* and *manas*; and though it treats the *manas* as the *antaḥkāraṇa* of *Ātman* it calls it *anindriya* (non-sense-organ), as, unlike the sense-organs which are limited to their own particular field of knowledge, this apprehends the objects given by all sense-organs. Jainism gives the name *manas* to two different things, *dravyamanas* or substantial and *bhāva-manas* or ideal. The former is matter or *pudgala*, and the latter is the same as *Jñāna* or *buddhi* and so belongs to *Ātman*. Thus there is material as well as spiritual *manas*.

Ātman, according to *Pratyabhijñā* School, is '*Parkāśa-vimarśa-maya*'. It is not only self-luminous, but also self-conscious and free. *Parkāśa* implies luminosity of self, viz pure consciousness with respect to itself; *Vimarśa* has particular significance in the system. It also means consciousness, but that consciousness functions at the empirical level, i. e. the consciousness with respect to external objects. *Prakāśa* is exclusively attributed to *Maheśvara* (the highest Being) in his *Viśvottīrṇa* aspect, i. e. when he is conceived as beyond this cosmos. In this aspect the *Parama Śiva* stands above all the categories, viz. principles of creation. It is the Transcendental state of the Ultimate, the Supreme Consciousness, free from qualities (*Nirguṇa*). *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* are indeed inseparable. There is no self-luminosity without self-consciousness and vice versa¹. The whole universe from microcosm to macrocosm is endowed with *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*. *Prakāśa* makes *Ātman* conscious of itself and *vimarśa* makes him conscious of the external object world². It is from this two-fold nature of the Ultimate Cause, that all creation from an atom to a mountain, all that lives or can be said to exist in any form, in the form of

sentient or insentient objects, macrocosm or microcosm, is endowed with powers of Will (*Ichhā*), Cognition (*Jñāna*) and Action (*Kriyā*)³. The first power (*Ichhā Śakti*) is technically called *Svātantrya Śakti* (Sovereignty of Will) which is the impetus behind all the creative thought and activity of an individual being. Sovereignty of will in relation to Cosmos (*Māheśvarya*) is the pivot of creation likewise. To *Maheśvara* in the form of *Ātman* (every individual soul) are further ascribed the powers of Remembrance (*Smṛṇa śakti*), Knowledge (*Jañāna śakti*) and Differentiation (*Apohana śakti*). In the next para we shall notice the part played by *antaḥkaraṇa* in the *Pratyabhijñā* system, since all volitional, cognitive and conscious-physical acts at the empirical level presuppose the existence of mind.

Antaḥkaraṇa consists of *Buddhi*, *Ahaṅkāra* and *Manas*, according to *Pratyabhijñā* system. There is an agreement between the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Pratyabhijñā* on the conception of *Buddhi* so far as it is a common meeting place of both, the light of the *Puruṣa* from one side and the reflection of the external object from the other. But *Puruṣa*, according to the former, remains always unaffected; it is pure sentient entity (*śuddha puruṣa*)⁴.

But, according to the latter, *Puruṣa* (individual subject), though equally sentient, does not remain entirely unaffected under all circumstances. Further, according to the former, *Buddhi* is not objective (*asamvedya*), but, according to the latter, being an instrument of knowledge, it is knowable like any other instrument such as the mind. *Ahankāra* is the product of *Buddhi*. It is nothing but the identification of the limited self with the *buddhi* and consequently the activity of the latter is attributed to itself. Its distinctive function is to control the five vital airs within the system and so the life itself. It is distinct from self-consciousness (*ahambhāva*), because while the latter is purely subjective (*svātma-mātra viśrānti satattvaḥ*) and, therefore, without any objective reference, the former is due to superimposition of the self on the *Buddhi*. The *manas* is a product of *ahankāra* (egoity). The element of Sattva predominates in it. Without its co-operation with senses, no sensation of any kind is possible. It carves images out of the blocks of sensations and plays an important part in perception, as we shall see below.

In the *Pratyabhijñā* system the Ultimate

Reality is conceived both as Universal Consciousness and Universal Energy. It is owing to these two aspects of the Ultimate Reality that the universe consists of mind and matter, subject and object. The psychological phenomena are attributed to the *Jñāṛtva śakti* (omniscience) of the Universal Consciousness (*Parā samvit*), whereas the physical phenomena appear from *Kartṛtva śakti* (omnipotence) of Universal Energy, the other aspect of the Ultimate Reality. *Pratyabhijñā* makes a very clear distinction between the physical and the psychological activities involved in perception. What happens, when a certain perception takes place, is that the mind sets a certain sense to work. So long as there is no prompting by or the co-operation of the mind, the object, though reflected on the external sense, (retina in the case of optical sense, for instance), does not cause any sensation. When the sense comes in touch with the object, it receives the reflection of the latter, which may be said to consist of a number of sensations. The physical image is illumined by the light of knowledge proceeding from the self-luminous self, and casts its reflection through the medium of that very illuminating light on the *buddhi*. The psychological activity involved in percep-

tion corresponds to the physical in almost every way. It is, therefore, admitted by the *Pratyabhijñā* that the so-called one act of perception is not really one action, but a large number of them taken to be one because of their leading to one result, the judgement (*pramiti*)⁵. The whole process from the time of illumination of the object by an external light to that of its causing the consciousness of *buddhi* to be affected, leads only to an indeterminate knowledge. After this begins the process which is distinctive of the determinate knowledge. The determinative process begins with the selection by mind (*manas*) of some points out of the mass reflected on the *buddhi*, as for instance, in the case of a person saying, "I am seeing a jar". It is not that he sees the jar alone. There are many other objects which are reflected on the *buddhi* through the retina. That part alone of the whole of the presentation (to his mind) which he selects to the exclusion of the rest of the presentation, leads to the determinate knowledge of the jar.

It is important to point out here that *Pratyabhijñā* school has propounded a theory, namely *Abhāsavād*, according to which each

object, as we perceive it, is a momentary collocation of certain number of *Ābhāsas* (manifestations). It will be noticed that *Pratyabhijnā* has accepted the Bauddha theory of momentariness of both the subject and the object. Thus every object, according to the system, is momentary and both the psychological and the physical activities presuppose the identification of the self with the momentary manifestation of the body and the mind. Each and every *Ābhāsa* requires a separate perceptual activity for its perception. The causal efficiency of each, however, depends upon its being determinately cognised which further depends upon the will, the immediate need and the analytical capacity of each perceiver. 'In perception, in which the objects are externally manifest, the manifestation is due to *Svātantrya* (sovereignty of perceiver's will), but in remembrance etc. it is due to the residual traces of the former experience.' (IPV. VI. 9) It has been stated (as a settled fact) that 'remembrance includes the perception within itself'. The perception, however, has two forms, because of the difference in intellectual reaction :

- (i) Sometimes perception of the object is preceded by self-consciousness. In this case,

of course, there is predominance of self-consciousness or will, as in "seen by me".

(ii) At other times he primarily perceives the object. In this case there is no will, but the object forcibly presents itself to the consciousness all of a sudden, or the subject is swayed by the idea of the causal efficiency (of the object) as in the case of "this". In this case also there is determinate self-consciousness. For, otherwise, the object will not shine.

Accordingly the forms of perception are two; so are those of remembrance also. Thus, with one sub-division of each (according to the two forms of perception) remembrance is of four kinds. Recognition also, which is the unification of the past and the present experience, is included in the six forms of knowledge. But because of the different forms of perception and remembrance, the recognition has eight forms. These being subdivided into two each, according as the past or present experience predominates, it has sixteen forms. There are thus, twenty-two forms of cognition⁶.

It is, therefore, clear that psychological experiences like perception, remembrance, differentiation, recognition, ascertainment and so on

depending upon *antaḥkaraṇa* are beheld in the system as the direct activities of *Ātman*.

NOTES

1. In fact these two are only two names of one and the same substance and that substance is *Parma Śiva* (the Ultimate Reality).

2. In other words, *Prakāśa* (luminosity) in *Pratyabhijñā* means what exists (: the manifested reality) and *Vimarśa* means what makes us aware of the existence of what exists. The relation of self-consciousness with the Universal Consciousness is just like a manifested bubble in a vast sea. *Prakāśa* is the Universal Consciousness and *Vimarśa*, self-consciousness in an individual being.

3. Kartari jñātari, ātmanyādi siddhe Maheśvare.

4. Puruṣastu puṣkara-palāśavad nirlepaḥ kintu cetanaḥ.

5. Na ekaikataḥ pramāṇāt sā pravṛttiḥ, api tu pramāṇa-samūhādeva.

6. dvāvimsāti samvedana bhedāh. (I.P.V. iv 8).

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KASHMIR ŚAIVA REALISM

(B. N. PANDIT)

The Śaivistic thinkers of Kashmir believe that the *self* has an absolute existence. Each and every living being is always conscious of his existence. His existence is always being felt. No living being requires the help of any element in feeling his existence¹. He has not to depend even on his senses, mind, and intellect for this purpose, because when all these aids of knowledge vanish in a stage of dreamless sleep, the self feels itself as a witness to that stage. Had it not then existed as a witness, how could it afterwards recollect the *void* experienced therein? Thus the *self* is always self-existent, self-evident and self-conscious. The *Turyā* or the fourth stage of consciousness can faintly be experienced by all of us in the highest pitch of an emotion and other such psychological conditions². This stage can vividly be experienced by *yogins* in *Samādhi*. The experience of that *Turyā* stage makes the *yogī* feel that he exists everywhere and in everything and that everything exists in him. Further it helps him realise that he is pure *Prakāśa* or evidentness and that *Prakāśa* is pure *Vimarśa* or consciousness, and

that he transcends the whole phenomenal universe.

The *Śaiva* philosophers, relying on this experience of the *Turyā* stage, affirm that this consciousness in itself is a sort of stir—not a physical one, nor a mental one, but a spiritual stir. Every living being feels this sort of urge in him³, which appears in the form of *will to know* and to *do* and every living being is always active in knowing and doing. Knowing⁴ itself is an action and doing does not exist without knowing. Neither of these can exist without *willing* and *willing* is a sort of outward-movement - like activity of that subtle urge or stir of a living being. This stir appears like a vibration known as *spanda*. It is neither like a physical vibration of sound, or light, nor like a mental vibration of desire, passion, disgust etc. It is a movement - like activity of consciousness which is simultaneously vibrating outwardly and inwardly by its nature⁵. The inward and the outward movement of *spanda* are the subjective consciousness and the objective consciousness respectively. It is by virtue of this double-edged nature of the *spanda* that the self is experienced in both its transcendental and universal aspects in the *Turyā* stage. *Parama Śiva*, the real self

shines through its own lustre⁶ in the state known as *Turyātīta* which transcends even the *Turyā* stage. There it shines as 'I' which transcends the conceptions of transcendality and universality. It is 'I' and 'I' alone. It is that lustre which is known as *Prakāśa* or evidentness and as *Vimarsa*⁷ or consciousness called pure *samvit* in the *śaiva śāstra*. This 'I' is not the egoistic 'I'⁸. The egoistic 'I' takes either the gross physical body or the fine mental body or the subtle life-breath or the still subtler *void* of the dreamless sleep as its basis. But this 'I' consisting of *samvit* and *samvit* alone, is absolutely pure, and is the real self of every living being. Since its nature is a subtle stir, this *spanda* is known as *śiva* and as *śakti* on account of its transcendental and universal aspects respectively. The whole phenomenon exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit*, just as a plant exists in a seed in the form of the seed⁹. There is not evtn the faintest trace of a plant in a seed, but the plant exists there. How could a plant sprout out of a seed if it had not already existed there? In the same manner the transcendentality and the universality exist in a subtler form in the *Parama śiva* and, therefore, these two aspects of him

appear in the stages of *śiva* and *śakti*¹⁰. *Śiva* and *śakti* are one. These two names are given to pure *samvit* because of the conception of its two aspects. This stage of complete unity is the stage of *śakti*. The phenomenal universe which exists in this stage in a subtler and seed-like form, becomes faintly evident in the stage of *Vidyā* which is the stage of unity-cum-diversity. It is a sort of sprouting condition of a seed. Both the seed and the sprout appear there, but both appear as one inseparable whole. This stage of *Vidyā* like that of *śakti* is always changed with the stir of *spanda* and by virtue of that stir it attains the form of clear imagination. *Vidyā* in itself is a sort of subjective imagination. The subject imagines itself as having the whole phenomenon as his body in the stage of *Vidyā*. The stage of clear imagination is known as the stage of *Māyā*, the stage of objective imagination. The phenomenon is imagined as something separate from the subject in this stage of *Māyā*. *Vidyā* is a sort of liquefaction of *śakti* and *Māyā* is a sort of solidification of *Vidyā*¹¹. *Will* or *Ichā* or *śakti* is the subtlest form of the *lord* and in this form *He* starts to appear. The whole phenomenon, thus, is nothing but a sort of materialization of the *will* of the *Lord*.

It is clear, therefore, that the whole phenomenon exists. For worldly souls in the stage of *Māyā* it exists objectively. For those in the stage of *Vidyā* it exists as their own body; for those in the stage of *śakti* it exists as their-self and self alone. Thus it exists in all these three stages and, therefore, is something real. The absolute subjectiveness is its finest form and the gross objectiveness is the impurest one. The intermediate stage of *Vidyā* is pure when compared to *Māyā*, but is impure when compared to *śakti*. *Parama Śiva* descends from the stage of *śakti* to those of *Vidyā* and *Māyā* and then *he* ascends from the stage of *Māyā* to the two upper stages. He is always ascending and descending in countless forms. This ascending and descending is not any physical activity but mere imagination. He imagines *himself* to be a limited soul of the *Māyā* stage and appears like that. Again *he* recognizes *his* real nature as that of pure *samvit* and shines again as *Parama Śiva*¹². All this is mere appearance and that appearance is based on imagination. That imagination is a sort of liquefaction-like activity of *will* of the *soul* and *his will* is an apparent form of *his* subtle urge of pure consciousness, as has been said above. Thus everything is the *Lord* and the *Lord* is every thing.

What is real and what can be said to be unreal? The *self* is indeed real as it always exists. Its reality is the absolute one. The phenomenon also is real¹³ because it also exists in *him*. Its phenomenal existence is the imaginative one. Existence is existence¹⁴, let it be *Pāramārthika satta* (absolute existence) or *samvitisatta* (imaginary existence). In fact the whole phenomenon has twofold existence. It always exists in *Parama śiva* in the form of pure *samvit* and that is its subjective existence¹⁵. It exists in the form of phenomenal universe and that is its objective existence. Appearance of these two types of existence is the real god-head of the *Parama śiva*. Had *he* not the capacity to make this twofold existence appear, then *he* alone would have existed or even *he* may not have existed at all. But *he* exists¹⁶ and exists as the absolute god. His godhead makes the reality appear in two aspects of subjectivity and objectivity. The absolute objective aspect of the reality is the basic one, but its objective aspect also is real because it also exists within that absolute subjective aspect¹⁷. The changeover between these two aspects of the reality is the essence of that reality. This changeover is always going on gradually in countless forms and the countless stages of that

gradual changeover is this whole phenomenon. All this is the manifestation of the energy of the pure *samvit*. That *samvit* and the energy of that *samvit* are real and both are in fact one and, therefore, all this is real. Reality and non-reality are merely two terms coined by worldly souls in order to manage to carry on the routine works of worldly life. Conceptions like the son of a eunuch, the horns of a hare and the milk of a toroise are considered to be substantially nonexistant, as these are mere conceptions. But this universe of numerous worlds and countless subjects and objects is not a mere conception. It enjoys the *samviti sattā* or imaginery existence which is one of the two kinds of existence. All imagination is real and existant for the time being. Had it not been so how could a mere imagination of an enemy arouse wrath in the mind of a hero? The difference between such an imagination and the appearance of this phenomenon is only this, that the imagination of a hero is the imagination of the self who has descended to the stage of *Māyā* and the appearance of the phenomenon is the imagination of the self while in the stage of *śakti*. *Māyā* is nothing but a sort of solidification of *śakti*. *Śakti* is real and, therefore, *Māyā* also is real and so

is the phenomenon which appears in *Māyā*. Its reality is imaginary, and not the absolute one. It is to be taken as real and existent. Then and then alone can any worldly activity or any activity connected with the study of scriptures, practices of *yoga* and performance of devotion etc. be pursued. This is, in short, the view of the *śaivistic* philosophers of Kashmir.

This realism of the *śaivas* is quite different from the *satkārya vāda* of the *sāṅkhyas*, which is based on the theory of modification of the *Prakṛti* or material energy. Material energy being lifeless, can never undergo by itself such a modification which brings into existence this complex universe, the evolution of which must have some definite aim. Thus¹⁸ it presupposes the existence of some intelligent agent who keeping that aim in view, directs the material energy towards the evolution of this universe. The atomistic theory of realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas* also is different from this doctrine of the realism of the *śaivas*. The *self* being always imaginative does create a world of his own even in this stage of *Māyā* while he is dreaming¹⁹. *He* does not require any atoms etc. for this purpose. A highly developed *yogin* can create a substance by mere materialization of his *will* without using any material for the

purpose²⁰. Why then imagine the *Lord* as using atoms etc. for the purpose of the creation of the universe? The evidence of the experiences of the *Turyā* and *Turyātīta* stages also falsifies the theory of the atomistic realism of the *Nyāya Vaiśeṣikas*.

The realism of the *Hīnayāna* schools of Buddhism has been considerably criticised by the *Mahāyāna* schools of that faith. The *Vedantist* theory of non-existence of the phenomenon is not quite convincing and still less convincing are the similar theories of the *Mahāyāna* schools of Buddhism²¹. The *śaivistic* doctrine, as presented above, is well established by the experience of the *Turyā* and the *Turyātīta* stages. The *vaiśnava* philosophers also have preached the same view as that of the *śaivas*; but they have not been able to establish it by sound arguments. Instead, they have tried to impose far-fetched interpretations of their own on the scriptures.

NOTES

[IP—Īśvara pratyabhijñā; IPV—IP Vimarśiṇī;

IS—Īśvarasiddhi; ŚD—Śivadrṣṭi;

ŚJ—Śivajīvadaśakam; SK—Spandakārikā

TA—Tantrāloka; TS—Tantrasāra.]

1. कर्तरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धे महेश्वरे ।
अजडात्मा निषेधं वा सिद्धिं वा विदधीत कः ॥ (IP. I. 1/2)
2. अतिक्रुद्धः प्रहृष्टो वा किं करोमोति वा मृशन् ।
धावन् वा यत् पदं गच्छेत् तत्र स्पन्दः प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ (SK. 22)
3. सा च दृश्या हृदुद्देशे कार्यस्मरणकालतः ।
प्रहर्षावेदसमये दरसन्दर्शनक्षणे ॥
अनलोचनतो दृष्टे विसर्गप्रसरास्पदे ।
विसर्गोक्तिप्रसङ्गे च वाचने धावने तथा ॥
एतेष्वेव प्रसङ्गेषु सर्वशक्तिविलोलता । (SD. I. 9/10)
4. घटादिग्रहकालेऽपि घटं जानाति सा क्रिया ।
जानाति ज्ञानमत्रैव निरिच्छोर्वेदनक्षतिः ॥
औन्मुल्याभावतस्तस्य निवृत्तिर्निवृत्तिं विना ।
द्वेष्ट्ये प्रवर्तते नैव न च वेत्ति विना चितम् ॥ (SD. I. 24/25)
5. हृदये स्वविमर्शोऽसौ द्राविताशेषविश्वकः ।
भावग्रहादिपर्यन्तभावी सामान्यसंज्ञकः । (भावग्रहो विश्वात्मतास्वीकारः)
स्पन्दः स कथ्यते शास्त्रे स्वात्मन्युच्छलनात्मकः ॥ (TA. V)
6. उपायजालं न शिवं प्रकाशयेद् घटेन किं भाति सहस्रदीधितिः ॥ (TS)
7. स्वभावमवभासस्य विमर्शं विदुरन्यथा ।
प्रकाशोऽर्थोपरकोऽपि स्फटिकादिजडोपमः ॥ (IP. I. 5/11)
8. अहं प्रत्यवमर्शो यः प्रकाशात्मापिवाग्वपुः ।
नासौ विकल्पः..... ॥ (IP. I. 6/1)
9. स्वामिनश्चात्मसंस्थस्य भावजातस्य भासनम् ।

- अस्त्येव न विना तस्माद् इच्छामर्शः प्रवर्तते ॥ (IP. I. 5/10)
10. न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्यतिरेकिणी ।
शिवः शक्तस्तथा भावान् इच्छया कर्तुमीहते ॥
शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न गण्यते । (ŚD. III.. 2, 3)
11. Cf. Mātrkā-Cakra-Viveka of Śrī Swatantrānanda Nātha.
12. येनोत्कीर्णं विश्वचित्रं स्वभित्तौ नानावर्णैश्चित्रितं येन भक्त्या ।
अन्ते स्वस्मिन् नृत्यते येन हृत्वा सोऽहं साहिवकौलकारामशम्भुः ॥ (ŚJ.1)
13. चिन्मयत्वेऽवभासानामन्तरेव स्थितिः सदा ।
मायया भासमानानां बाह्यत्वाद्दहिरप्यसौ ॥
14. एवं च संवृतिः विकल्पबुद्धिः, तद्रशाद् उच्यतां संवृतिसत्यत्वं सत्यत्वस्यैव
तु प्रकारः तत् । (IPV. II- 2. 4)
15. CF 13, above.
16. अस्थास्यदेकरूपेण वपुषा चेन्महेश्वरः ।
महेश्वरत्वं संवित्त्वं तदत्यक्ष्यद् घटादिवत् ॥ (TA)
17. भावाभावावभासानां बाह्यतोपाधिरुच्यते ।
नात्मा सत्ता ततस्तेषामान्तराणां सतां सदा ॥ (IP. I. 8/5)
18. लोकयात्रानुसन्धानवतीं प्रज्ञां विना न हि ।
तथा चिकीर्षां च विना विचित्ररचनोद्भवः ॥
स्थूलता मात्रमेव स्यान्न तु लोकोपयोगिनी ।
रचना नियमेन स्याद्विचित्रा जातिरूपिणी ॥ (IS. 31-33)

19. तदेवं व्यवहारेऽपि प्रेमुर्देहादिमाविशान् ।
भान्तमेवान्तरर्थौवमिच्छया भासयेद्बहिः ॥ (IP. I. 50. 7)
20. चिदात्मैव हि देवोऽन्तः स्थितमिच्छावशाद् बहिः ।
योगीव निरुपादानमर्थजातं प्रकाशयेत् ॥ (IP. I. 5. 7)
21. एवमन्योन्यभिन्नानामपरस्परवेदिनाम् ।
ज्ञानानामनुसन्धानजन्मा नश्येज्जनस्थितिः ॥
न चेदन्तःकृतानन्तविश्वरूपो महेश्वरः ।
स्यादेकश्चिद्रूपानस्मृत्यपोहनशक्तिमान् ॥ (IP. I. 3. 6, 7)
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JAGATRAM CHHUNIA: The Pahārī Artist
(SANSAR CHAND)

Jagat Ram Chhunia's ancestors originally belonged to Ramnagar, but his father, Shiv Ram, resided in Kishanpur (Basohli), simply because some landed property was bestowed upon him by a Dogra Chief as Muafi'.

Shiv Ram had two sons and a daughter. Jagat Ram, the elder son, was nicknamed Chhunia and Nand Lal was endearingly called Nandi by the elder brother. Chhunia married thrice. Mast Ram, his son, was born from his first wife. About him he bitterly complained that he was not interested in painting, whereas others keenly learnt Art from him without payment. The Artist wanted the tradition to continue in his line after his death. But the conduct of his son ran contrary to his wishes. Mast Ram had two sons Kesho Ram and Jagan Nath, but neither of them was inspired to learn painting. Mast Ram had some practice but could not carry on further.

Maharaja Ranbir singh was an enlightened and progressive ruler. He was the first to encourage education

1 An order dated 1830 challenged by a rival party was endorsed by Dewan Amar Nath, then Prime Minister of Kashmir, during the reign of Maharaja Partap Singh. It declared that Jagat Ram Chhunia was a real batesar.

in the State. He was a great patron of Fine Arts. Several able artists were liberally encouraged and people of the State given stipends to learn Art. Hari Chand was a celebrated Artist of Kangra whose grand father Nand Lal is said to have come to Jammu. Nand Lal had two sons Channu and Ruldoo. Both of them worked in Jammu. Ruldoo and his nephew (son of Channu), Hari Chand also called Hari Sharan were contemporary artists in the Darbar of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Hari Chand continued to paint till the late nineteenth century and very often accompanied The Maharaja whenever he went outside the State. Jagat Ram was made a candidate under the tutorship of Hari Chand. A controversy had cropped up about this tutorship; some held that he was a pupil of Ruldoo, while others affirmed that he was a student of Hari Chand. But the reminiscences of the author go in favour of the latter. Whenever Chhunias mentioned the name of his master, he mentioned it reverentially even though Hari Chand belonged to the carpenter class, while Chhunias was an educated Brahmin. He referred to a serious crisis in his master's house. One of the members of his family looked enviously at the young artist and asked the artist not to breed a snake (a rival) in his house. This member could hardly be other than Ruldoo himself; as Hari Chand is often depicted with fine qualities and refined manners. Ruldoo was unwilling to encourage a participant in their trade. Evidence has it that more people went to Hari Chand to learn painting and he was always very kind to his pupils. But it was never revealed by Jagat Ram Chhunias, who it was that hampered his training. In later years he was almost

a contemporary to his master, but his popularity paled in the presence of his Guru. Jagat Ram belonged to a family of mediocres. He was a Sanskrit scholar and a tantric, well versed in the occult lore. He did not enjoy high repute in spite of his accomplishment and sterling qualities. He was unassuming, simple and quiet. Hari Chand was, no doubt, a master of the brush, but Jagat Ram had the benefit of his learning. He had the advantage of knowing exact descriptions of the *Dhyānas*. He was the devotee of *Ucchiṣṭa Ganapati*. He was also seen murmuring the *Durgā Saptā Satī* while at his work. He was an intimate of Maharaja Partap Singh, the successor of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. Their friendship dated back to their childhood when they played together. So he was a private employee of the Maharaja. He got a nominal pittance which could hardly lighten his financial burden. It was rather a sort of scholarship for the artist, as he never attended any office. He used to offer a painting or two on State occasions such as Basant, Dussehra or Diwali.

Late in life he had to face a serious shock, which awfully perturbed the poor artist. Public taste registered a liking for western art. Cheap prints from Bombay (Raja Ravi Verma Press) based on Indian mythology, flooded the market. These prints were awfully cheap and bright and looked a bit three dimensional. With the change of time the artist began to introduce light and shade for his figures. His accentuation of line shade which he sometimes turned into spots appeared awkward in old style. There were no masses of light and shade. Only shade was intensified to create effect

by long dashes. Chhunias saw oil painting for the first time and was so much impressed that he became very much inquisitive to know the technique of their foreign medium. It was an aggressive medium the charm of which no one could evade. He wanted to see an oil painting being executed. The fascination of realism was great enough for him, but there was no chance of his watching the demonstration of such a technique. The aspirant lay in wait for such an opportunity. It so happened that a European artist was ordered to execute an order for the Maharaja in Jammu. But the artist was awfully prejudiced against working in open before all others. He did not allow any person to see him at ease. The India artist was equally bent upon watching the westerner at work. Somehow it was arranged that Chhunias stood looking keenly at the execution of the oil painting. The foreigner was not, however, unconscious of the eye looking intently from behind. He saw the eyes fixed on his work. The self-oblivious attendant clean forgot that he could be detected. Next day nobody was allowed to enter the studio of the artist. The poor attendant had been caught red-handed before he could pick up something. Chhunias was soon equipped with the oil media. It was not a joke to handle a new medium without practice and tuition. Looking from a distance how colours were mixed and applied on to canvas could help no novice. He painted several portraits and some subject paintings, but his hands which were attuned to a different style and a different technique could not adopt things miles apart from his own.

There was no question of reconciliation. There was

no life in his oil paintings. This failure in a foreign medium was quite natural. But speaking of his own school he was matchless in his time. He was quite at home in the *pahārī* style, though his later paintings appear to be loaded with retouchings. His early works show the traditional style ripe bonafide and at best. He executed a number of ivory miniatures for his patron, the Maharaja.

A masterpiece of his depicts Radha approached by Sri Krishna under a bower on the bank of the Jamuna, where half-naked Radha emerges from water to greet Sri Krishna. The rainy season is in full swing. The muddy rain-water running zig-zag in gullies is pouring into the Jamuna. It was a figurative illustration. This painting shows amours of the pair deeply in love, overpowered by the master passion.

But the last painting he could finish in his life-time was that of "Sarab" a very peculiar painting ever painted by any artist. It was a tantric deity painted for the Maharaja as desired by his Guru Pt. Jagadish. It took him three years to complete it. It was about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It had innumerable figures of deities spread all over the space. It had a naturalistic effect and was a very colourful picture.

The last years of this Indian artist were full of troubles and misery. Unfortunately he was an opium-eater. Having grown weak with age and illness he needed rich food which his poor earnings could not procure. Old and infirm he continued to ply his brush. Once he very aptly used a beautiful simile. He

uttered with a sigh of regret and frustration that while it (art) was maturing to strength and youth he himself was growing old. He was no match for such a thing. In the expression art was painted as a spouse, whom he loved very dearly and intensely. He could not spare it in his old age. A beautiful expression of pathos of deep-seated frustration.

Chhunia was very polite and mild a lovable a personality who could manage even rough natures. He had great regard for his pupils who were really interested in Art. He used to lament the death of the young Ganga Bishan, a very promising student of Art. His home-life was anything but happy. When he died in 1923 at seventy-five unknown and unlamented, the last ray of Pahārī Art vanished from the horizon of Indian painting. He had a very big collection of Indian paintings belonging to different hands, and also a number of rare books. It was always painful for him to lose a picture even if it was sold away. Some very notable paintings of his collection were stolen by his false friends. The survivors who were not well-off soon disposed of his treasures at paltry prices.

[Clues to any painting by Chhunia will be gratefully acknowledged.

—Ed 1

QUESTION, COMMENT & CONJECTURE

[Contributions to this column are eagerly

awaited—Ed.]

DUGGAR

(D. C. PRASHANT)

The word *Duggar*, which means the land of the Dogras, has all along baffled research scholars. About 80 years back, the learned Pandits of Maharaja Ranbir Singh came to the conclusion that *Duggar* is an *avabhramśa* of the word *Dvigarta* (:two ditches). The existence of two lakes - Mānsar and Sruṁsar - in the region appeared to corroborate the theory and after that it became a 'patent fact'. Had they been students of philology, they would have gone deeper in analysing this word, for the word *garta* does not convey the sense of a lake. The Pandits, nevertheless, hastened to form their opinion because they had come across the word *Trigarta* in the *Mahabharata*. The *Trigarta Deśa*, which was extremely arid in ancient times, stood for the desert on the east of the *Satadru* (Satluj), and included the tract between the Satluj and the Sarasvati containing Ludhiana and Patiala on the north and a portion of the desert on the south. The words *Trigarta* and *Dvigarta* are so alike that they appear to be cast in the same mould.

Dvigarta is a *tatsama* word : a compound of *dvi* (:two) and *garta* (:ditch). The *apabhramśa* of *dvi* should be *du* rather than *ḍu* while *garta* in Dogri has assumed the form of *gatta* and not *gar*.

Prof. Gauri Shankar has discussed¹ the theory at length but has left it open. He has also considered² the derivation of the word from *Durgar* (:Difficult terrain). The treks in the land, no doubt, are hard and hazardous ; but this hypothesis is also open to the same objection as above : the transformation of *du* into *du*.

The problem has, therefore, engaged my mind for a pretty long time. My Rajasthan tour, two years back, helped me to suggest a new possibility, already hinted³ at by some authorities earlier.

In Rajasthan, there is a place Doongarpur and the inhabitants of this place are called Dongras. The word *Doongar* in Rajasthani means a hill and Dongras are those who dwell on the hills. *Doongar* means a hill in Gujarati also. History tells us that centuries back teams of people from Rajasthan migrated to this side and the migration went on for several decades. The people who migrated here came to be known as Dongras as they settled down on hills. The Dogras, I suggest, are etymologically no other than these Dongras.

One would naturally like to ask how the word Dongra has been denazalised ? Several examples can be quoted to support this linguistic phenomenon (:denazalisation in Dogri). Thus, we have :

1. Indian Linguistics, VII, Part I ; Calcutta, 1939
2. Journal Punjab Historical Society, VIII (pp 106 ff) ;
3. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, XV (pp 100).

Hindi	Dogri	Hindi	Dogri
Chīṅk	Chikk	Ūñc	Ucc
Chīṅṭ	Chīt	Señkanā	Sekanā
Ūṅṭ	Ūt	Phūñkanā	Phūkanā
Jañc	Jāc	Īṅṭ	Itṭ
Sanwārṇā	Suarnā	Kānc	Kac

A few Hindi words which retain the anuswāra in Punjabi, have dropped it in Dogri, such as :-

Punjabi	Dogri
Caun̄k	Cakk
Caun̄ka	Caukā
Saunh	Soh
Doongā	Doogā
Joñk	Jukk

The Dogras are scattered in the Kangra and Hoshiarpur areas also; but these parts are not called Duggar, while the homeland of the Dogras is called Duggar. The Kangra people have never described their land as such, though they call themselves Dogras.

In Rajasthan I noticed a marked affinity of culture with Duggar. The paintings of Rajasthan have greatly influenced the Dogra art. Ancient dresses such as *ghatanna*, *pasuaj*, *jama*, *cholarhi* and also some ornaments of Duggar and Rajasthan bear a marked resemblance. Some castes of both the places are also similar. It is said that the original Rajputs of Duggar are *candravamsīs*. The *Sūryavamsīs* are migrants. Even some customs and conventions of both the places are alike.

Gods such as Mandlik and Guggā are worshipped at both places. Some vocables are common in Rajas-

thani and Dogri. Thus, for instance, Lūn (Sanskrit, Lavaṇa) occurs in both the languages and the word mārḥā is also used in both.

The Dogra migrants brought with them artisans who influenced local art and architecture. Even a typical Dogra house may be described as an imitation of a Rajasthani house. Folk-songs such as *Bārān* and *Kārḥān* and some musical instruments like *sarangi* have a family likeness. Do these things point out the cultural and linguistic affinities of Rajasthan and Duggar?

During the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh some scholars did make an attempt to prove that the lineage⁴ of the Jammu and Rajasthan Rajputs was identical. Hence they concluded that the Rajputs, who migrated to this side from Rajasthan, were separated from their kith and kin at the time of Raja Agnigarbha, the ninth ruler before Raja Jambulochan. The genealogy of the Jammu rulers clearly shows the migration of the Rajputs from Rajasthan to this side.

Moreover, the word *Duggar* is prevalent only in the lower region of the Jammu province, while the *Kandi* people describe their land as *Kardi* and inhabitants of the upper regions call their area *Pahār*. The word was, nevertheless, well known to people living in the area of Sialkot and Shakargarh adjacent to the Dogri-speaking parts of Jammu and Kathua districts. Even several villages (Dogri-speaking) in the Sialkot district were known as Duggar by the Punjabis before partition. The conclusion, therefore, is obvious that Duggar is an imported word, not to be derived from *dvigarta*.

4. The *Vamśavalī* of the Dogra rulers; Jammu, 1956 Vik.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

[Publishers on Indology are invited to send two copies of their latest Publication for Review in these columns. —ED.]

1. KASHMIR UNDER THE SULTANS. *

It is very fortunate that Kashmir is attracting the attention of eminent Indian research scholars. The publication of Dr. S. C. Ray's *EARLY HISTORY & CULTURE OF KASHMIR* in 1957 and now that of *KASHMIR UNDER THE SULTANS* by Mr Mohibbul Hasan are welcome additions to the Indian territorial historiography on modern scientific lines. Mr. Mohibbul-Hasan has already won appreciation for his monumental monograph on Sultan Fateh Shah Tipu Sahib and has established his reputation as an erudite scholar. The present volume, it is hoped, will also find its place as

a classical and pioneering work of research on the much neglected mediaeval period of the history and culture of Kashmir.

During the 19th century great orientalists like Peterson, Wilson, Cunningham, A. Stein and Buhler introduced the ancient heritage of Kashmir to the English-speaking world, but because of the apathy of the Government and officialdom of the time hardly any attention was paid either to the preservation or acquisition of the mediaeval works of art. Persian and Arabic MSS on the history, culture and literature of mediaeval Kashmir, or

Kashmir under the Sultans: by Mr. Mohibbul-Hasan B.A. Hons (London), Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligarh; Published by the Iran Society, 159-B Dharmtala Street, Calcutta; 1959. Pages: 337, Royal Oct; Price; Rs. 25]—

the protection of the mediaeval monuments. This has made the work of a researcher of mediaeval Kashmir all the more arduous and difficult.

Mr. Mohibbul Hasan deserves congratulations for his pioneering effort in presenting a critical study of the period based on original, contemporary and later sources of the history of Kashmir. Some of the material used by him is entirely a new find and has been utilised for the study of this period almost for the first time.

The author has rightly remarked that the contributions of Newall, Kaul and Kak are very sketchy and are based on slender evidence. The chapter in the *Cambridge History of India* has more details but is based mainly on the Mughal sources and concentrates only on political

events. A more recent work is Sufi's *Kashir*, a history of Kashmir from the ancient times to the present day. The scope of his work is so wide that it was not possible for him to utilise all original authorities. The few chapters that he has devoted to Kashmir under the Sultans are brief, uncritical and lacking in historical perspective.

The present study, on the other hand, reconstructs the history of Kashmir from the foundation of the Sultanate till its conquest by Akbar, from original sources of information. It describes political events as also the administrative institutions, social and economic life and the cultural activities of the period.

The book opens with a critical appraisal of the primary and secondary ori-

ginal sources of information. The *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Syed Ali S/o Syed Muhammad, a nephew of Sultan Nazuk Shah Chak (1529-1540 A.D.), *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by an anonymous writer (MS belonging to K. HOF-Und Staats-Bibliothek Muenchen) *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Hasan Ali Kashmiri and the India Office MS of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haider deserve a special mention in the original sources utilised by the author for the first time. It is very unfortunate that so far the Jammu and Kashmir Government Department of Oriental Research has not cared to bring out critical editions of these texts of fundamental importance though works of far lesser importance have been brought out by this department during the last 55 years of its existence. Mr Mohibul-Hassan, however, has avoided any discussion on the

authenticity of the MSS used by him or of their text. This important omission takes away much from the evaluations and interpretations offered by the author in the chapters that follow.

Chapter II is devoted to the geography of Kashmir mostly based on Drew and Stein but very little effort has been made to discuss the topography in the manner characteristic of Cunnigham's "Ancient Geography of India" or Stein's "Ancient Geography of Kashmir". It, therefore, leaves much to be desired.

In chapter III after an interesting summing up of the political decadence characteristic of the reign of Simhadeva (1286-1301) and Suhadeva (1301-20) the author critically examines the origin and invasion of Zulju, Zulqadar Khan

of the later Persian chronicles of Kashmir. The author on the basis of references in Howorth (*History of the Mongols*) and Prawdin (*The Mongol Empire*) and Saif Mohammad (*Tarikh Nama-i-Hirat*) regards Zulju to be a pagan mongol who came from Turkestan and rejects the theses of Abul Fazaal, Nizam-ud-Din Bakhshi and Fireshta who have like many of Kashmiri chroniclers described him as an officer of the ruler of Qandhar. His invasion is, accordingly, regarded as a continuation of the series of Mongol attacks during the period on the Northwestern India and Kashmir. The theory is convincing enough though not conclusive.

In the same chapter the author has conclusively identified Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (1320-23) as

Lhachen Gyalbu Rinchana, the son of Lhachend Ngos-grub who ruled over Ladakh from 1290. to 1320, on the basis of the authority of Traucke (*"Antiquities of Indian Tibet"* Vol. II). This theory does not in any way conflict with the views of the Persian Chroniclers though the latter could not precisely identify Prince Rinchana (Sultan Sadr-ud-Din), the founder of the Independent Sultanate of Kashmir. The author also rejects the statement of Jonaraja that Rinchana was refused to be converted to Shaivism before his actual conversion to Islam.

The author admits that exaggerated and fantastic claims about Sultan Shah-ud-Din's conquests that we come across in Persian chronicles are not supported by contemporary authorities but, in spite of

it, ascribes the conquest of Baltistan, Dardistan, Ladakh, Kishtwar, Chamba and Jammu to the Sultan. Even this assertion appears to be too generous keeping in view the resources in men and material at the disposal of the Sultan and the difficulties of the terrain and means of communication and transport in these regions. The author has not cited any corroborative evidence from the local histories of Baltistan, Ladakh, Kishtwar, Jammu or Chamba in support of his view.

In discussing the reign of Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413) the author has very carefully skipped over the iconoclastic activities of the Sultan and ascribed them either to his Prime Minister, Saif-ud-Din or to the voluntary conversion of temples into

mosques by the former devotees of Hindu Gods when they accepted Islam. A critical examination of the charges of the Brahman chroniclers has not, therefore, been attempted even inspite of the availability of "Tuhfatul-Ahbāb-fī-kasr-i-Auṭhān wa aṣnām" (noticed by the author on page 11 of this book) which describes with all the necessary detail the destruction of important Buddhist and Hindu shrines like those of Parihaspur, commonly ascribed wrongly to Sikandar, at the hands of Mir Shams-ud-Din Irāqī and his sufis in the reign of Sultan Mohd. Shah [(ii) 1493-1505] and Sultan Fateh Shah [(ii) 1505-14], and the later ravages of the agents of denudation.

Chapter V is devoted to the study of Sultah Zain-ul-Ābidīn (1420-70), the greatest of the Kashmir

Sultans. Except for a few obvious mistakes of topography particularly on page 84 and 85 the chapter carefully consolidates all the available information about the Sultan but does not refer to the obvious failure of the Sultan to evolve an elaborate civil and military organization and redeem the country from the exploitation and ravages of feudal lords who mainly were responsible for the complete collapse of the sultanate within almost a hundred years of the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidīn. Even the oft-repeated rebellions of feudal Lords and princes both during and after the reign of the Sultan expose the tales of grandeur which the chauvinistic tendencies of Persian chroniclers have vainly tried to weave around the history of "Independent Kashmir"

and suggest that often the direct rule of many of the Sultans did not extend beyond the bounds of Nawshehra and lower part of the modern city of Srinagar. The rest of the country was parcelled out among the big families of feudal exploiters who prospered through conspiracies and intrigues at the expense of the tillers of the soil and the common man.

The intercommunal marriages of Sultan Sikandar, Ali Shah and Zain-ul-Ābidīn especially with the Rajput princesses of the royal house of Jammu though mentioned in Kashmir chronicles relied upon by the author do not find any corroboration in the local history of Jammu which the author seems to have ignored.

Chapter VI to VIII are devoted to the study

of the internecine wars, rebellions, intrigues and shameless, treacheries of the period which constitute a very painful reading. Chapter IX brings the story to the close with the conquest of Kashmir by the Indian Imperialist press. The author has been successful identifying Biswak where Sultan Yusaf Shah Chak and Sultan Yaqub Chak lie buried in most dilapidated tombs. This has been possible on the testimony of Professor Hassan Askari, renowned scholar of Patna, who describes Biswak as a village 3 miles North East of Islampur in the Patna District. At a short distance from Biswak is a village Kashmiri Chak, a Kashmiri colony of old.

Chapter XI is devoted to the study of the administrative system. In the absence of any direct information it is

more conjectural than real. In spite of this obvious handicap it makes an interesting and useful reading.

Chapters XII and XIII describe the social and economic conditions and cultural activities of the period and are perhaps the most interesting part of the book. It is, however, regrettable that a critical attempt has not been made to analyse the Central Asiatic and Iranian influences on the Kashmiris. The development of Persian language and literature has been disposed off in the most cursory references. The section on Kashmiri poetry is also very superficial for obvious reasons as the author had to rely on secondary sources. For example, when the author says: "Lalla came into contact with Syed Ali Hamadani and Nur-ud-

Din Reshi and learned of the doctrines of Islam and Sufism," he obviously repeats the mistake of Sir Richard Temple and himself ignores to compare the chronology of these three great figures of the successive periods. Similarly the statement that "under the influence of Persian Kashmiri grew richer and owing to the patronage it received at the hands of the Sultan it was able to develop a respectable poetic literature of its own", is more of a journalistic generalisation rather than the statement of an accurate scientific historical con-

clusion.

The book ends with useful and interesting appendices on the Nurbakhshiyas, currency, coinage, weights and measures, chronology and genealogy of the sultans and a good bibliography.

It is on the whole a very successful and praise-worthy attempt at the reconstruction of the history of Kashmir of a period most neglected. Mr Mohibul Hassan and the Iran Society deserve the thanks of all the lovers of Kashmir for this laudable and erudite work of original research.

—(Sahibzada) Hassan Shah

2. BUDHISM IN KASHMIR AND LADAKH *

The book under review saw the light of day about four years back when public interest in Buddhism as a religion and in Kashmir and Ladakh as politically and strategically significant parts of India had reached its climax. It opportunely filled up a striking vacuum in the literature on Kashmir and was, therefore, hailed on all sides as a timely production in a field of research that had been altogether neglected in the past.

As indicated above, the book breaks completely virgin ground and such a task invariably bristles with tremendous difficulties. An idea of the prodigious amount of labour and research which has gone into the production of this work can be had,

from the impressive array of the books listed under 'Bibliography' of which it is the essence distilled with rare art and consummate skill. This fascinating story of the varying fortunes of Buddhism in this ancient land from the earliest times to the present day has been told in a lucid, racy style and divided into four parts under the following captions: (1) The Budha and his Gospel; (2) Buddhism in Kashmir; (3) Buddhism in Ladakh and (4) The present position. Including the index the book runs into 243 pages and considering the range and sweep of its contents, it is a remarkable feat of condensed writing. The narrative flows like a gently rippling placid stream on its even and stately course; incidentally

* Buddhism in Kashmir & Ladakh : By J. N. Ganahar and P. N. Ganahar ; New Delhi, 1966; 243 PP. Roy. Oct. Rs. 16.00

presenting itself at the same time as a concise history of Kashmir in broad outline.

While the narrative follows in the main the wellworn track of historical tradition, it boldly cuts across it here and there striking new paths and treading on manifestly controversial ground. A brief review like the present one can hardly afford to take note of all controversial points or even to discuss the more outstanding of such points in detail. A passing reference to some of the latter is, however, unavoidable. Thus, for instance, on page 170 of the book occurs the statement: "Though from the close of the Karkota rule in Kashmir the Ladakhis have looked to Lhasa for spiritual guidance, yet they have much in common with the people inhabiting the valley". Does this statement imply that before the close of the Karkota

rule, the Ladakhis looked for inspiration and guidance to Kashmir? Where is the proof for this? Is not the assertion that the Ladakhis have much in common with the people of Kashmir an overstatement? Then follows the assertion." In fact Buddhism itself went to Ladakh from Kashmir." This observation, too, unless supported by evidence, can hardly find acceptance with the critical enquirer. Who were the missionaries that took Buddhism to Ladakh from Kashmir and when? Local tradition which would necessarily have enshrined the memory of such an event is altogether unaware of such evangelical activity on the part of Kashmir in reference to Ladakh. The stupendous missionary work which the Kashmiri monks did in distant China is another story and this work, as is well

known, covered the period between the 3rd and 6th centuries of the Christian era and must be attributed to the tremendous fillip given by Kaniska to the propagation of the *Dharma* in the countries of the North as Asoka did in the case of those of the south. On the same page, (viz 170) the *mons* are stated to be the descendants, according to popular belief, of missionaries who first preached the Buddhist faith in the country (Ladakh). Does not this statement contradict the hypothesis of Buddhism having gone to Ladakh from Kashmir? According to local tradition human habitations appeared in number in Ladakh when in long-past times waves of immigrants poured into Ladakh from three directions: the Aryan *Dards* from Dardistan, who brought their Buddhism with them from their original home; the *mons*

also believed to be Aryans from Kulu side who also took Buddhism with them to their adopted home, and the *mongolians* from Tibet who must have originally professed Bonism and were later converted by local or Tibetan missionaries

It is stated (on page 176) that Surendra, the first Buddhist ruler of Kashmir erected a vihara at Saurasa which the authors identify with present day Suru. This is immediately followed by the statement that Kalhana located this monastery named Narendra Bhavan near the country of Dards. As Suru is far far away from the 'Country of Dards' Kalhana's testimony clearly knocks the bottom out of the identification of Sauras with Suru.

(In Chapter XIX of the book) Fa Hien, the Chinese pilgrim is stated to have visited Ladakh about 400 A.D.

Indeed the Chapter itself appears under the title 'Fia Hien in Ladakh'. This astounding thesis has been built up on the flimsy foundation of Alexander Cunningham's identification of Kirchha with Ladakh, although four other eminent authorities mentioned in the book itself along with Cunningham hold entirely divergent views in regard to the identity of Kiachha. One of the arguments used by Cunningham to buttress his theory is that the pilgrim according to his own statement took a month to travel westward from Kiachha to North India and in terms of distance Ladakh answers to this description. As the pilgrim travelled west from Ladakh, he must have taken the Zojila route and if he did so he must have passed through Kashmir of which there is absolutely no evidence whatever.

The second argument advanced to uphold this theory is that Cunningham 'was able to trace in Ladakh two important relics of the Buddha mentioned by Fia Hien in Kiachha'. According to Cunningham one of these relics (the alms bowl) still exists in a temple to the north of Leh. But Ladakh also possessed a bowl of the Buddha which was formerly enshrined at Leh but is said to have been carried away by Ali Sher of Balti upwards of 200 years ago. Obviously Cunningham has been the victim of a disingenuous joke or he has misunderstood the information given him about these so-called relics. Is it conceivable that the temple supposed to enshrine the alms bowl would not have been a place of cherished pilgrimage and that the relic would not have been exhibited on some sacred day in the

year amid colourful celebrations and hearty rejoicings? Yet, nobody in Leh knows anything about them; at least no celebrations whatever are held in their honour. Even if Ali Sher had carried away the tooth relic, would the place where it had been enshrined, for that reason, lose its sanctity and cease to be a place of pilgrimage for the devout Buddhists?

As a sample of the view held by historians on this point, we may appropriately reproduce the following relevant extract from Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *History of India* (page 106): Fa Hien was a Chinese pilgrim who came to India in search of MSS of Vinaya Pitaka. He entered India by way of Khotan, Gandhara and Taxila and crossed the Indus at Purushpur (Peshawar) and then

proceeded to Mathura .."

There are other statements in the book which call for comment in one form or the other, but limitations of space forbid any further discussion of its contents. As stated in the beginning of this review, the authors have blazed a new trail and laid the lines for further work in this field of research. The obscure spots in the vast panorama unfolded in the book must be subjected to the searchlight of close scrutiny and sustained research till the mists enveloping them are wholly cleared away. The book is, thus, not only a rich mine of information, but also a challenge to scholars and it is this characteristic of it which enhances its value immeasurably.

—(Master) Shridhar Kaul

3. THE WAY OF THE SWAN*

Impelled by a desire to understand and reveal 'Kashmir's role in the drama of India's thought and culture', Nilla Cram Cook follows a trail brilliantly blazed by savants all through the ages and eminent western scholars during the last one hundred years. She presents the life and culture of this "land embraced by the mountain's arms" through poems sung by her children for fourteen hundred years, from the *Nilamata Purānam* down to our own day.

Professor J. L. Kaul was the first to present to the outside world in his *Kashmiri Lyrics* an idea of the main current of Kashmir's thought and spirit as revealed in lyrical poetry in Kashmiri from the days of Lal Ded and Sheikh Nurud Din to the early forties of the present century. But

Miss Cook has drawn upon Sanskrit and Persian works in addition to Kashmiri poetry and the gems of thought and poetic expression have a bold philosophical and mystic motif. This is clear from the very title of the work which is drawn from Lalla's verse:

"Shiva ! Shiva ! the one who ever calls,

The way which is the Swan's ever recalls..."

[t h e formula *So-ham* (I am He) having been formed by transposition of the letters *ham-sah*: the swan]. She expounds her thesis in a scholarly introduction.

Miss Cook has gone into the mythology of the rise of the world from waters. We are aware of the tradition of the lake Satīsar drained by the seer Kashyapa; which later

*The Way of the Swan (Poems of Kashmir) presented by Nilla Cram Cook; -Asia Publishing House Bombay; 1959; Rs. 10 50

became the beautiful valley of Kashmir. A similar tradition among the ancient Iranians has been traced by the authoress. Other similarities to this idea may be found in the regeneration of life on the earth after the Flood, the churning of the ocean, or the origin of life itself from the amoeba. The soul has to cross the waters of life and death in the way of the swan. "For all things from the water We have made" says Habibullah.

The influence of the literature of this mytho-history on the life and philosophy of the country has been considered in the introduction. Kashmir's contribution to philosophy lies in the development of the *śaiva* theory which was provoked, perhaps, as a monistic reaction against the nihilism of the later Buddhists. Outside Kashmir, in Central Asia and further west, a similar monistic reaction was gaining momentum as *Erfan* which is explained as "the *Bodhi* illumination in terms of an Islamic piety", and "a movement allied to Kashmir's monist reaction" against later Buddhism.

The authoress finds a close parallel between the poet philosophers of *Erfan* and *śaiva* writers of Kashmir. Says she, "The works of Jabir-ibn-Hayyan, the renowned eighth century alchemist of Baghdad, disciple of the Imām Jafar Sādiq, bear a close comparison with the writings of the first two generations of Vasugupta's disciples. In the early eleventh century, Ibn Sina (:Avicenna) and Abhinava Gupta present a single universe of angelic energies and logically related experiences of consciousness. Their systems may

be compared point by point, their technical vocabularies translated and exchanged with ease and accuracy....."

The two movements of the *Śaiva* philosophers and *Erfan* had their meeting place in Kashmir in the fourteenth century when Lal Ded and Shah-i-Hamdan stood face to face and recognised each other's depth and prowess as well as the affinities. Says the authoress, "And so it happened that the name of Muhammed came to Kashmir as an invocation of what it itself held dear, a love of life intense enough to regard all life as one, and a faith in salvation through knowledge."

The authoress thus traces the age-old secular concept of life in Kashmir to the fusion of the two streams of thought and practice represented by *Śhaivism* and *Erfan*. The

bonds between the two were made stronger, consciously or otherwise, on the one hand, by King Zain-ul-ābidin, by innumerable local *rishis* and eminent intellectuals like Sarfi and on the other, by the readiness with which non-Muslims took to the study of Persian and the excellence acquired by them in its use. The basis of this culture is in tolerance, in humanism and not in an artificial uniformity evolved through gentle 'coercion' as used by Akbar the great which led to a reaction from the orthodoxy. "Had the example of Kashmir been followed (by Akbar), a secular India might have come into being then and there."

This scholarly introduction should encourage a good deal of research work. For instance, the significance of water in creation :

the source from which according to the mythologies of many countries, life begins and to which the world returns in dissolution, detailed comparative study of the *śaiva* philosophers and mystic India and of the *Erfan* in Arabia or Central Asia or Egypt. Likewise, the affinities between these two orders of humanists and those thrown up by Christianity in the West and Confucianism and Taoism in the East.

The poems presented in this volume are heralded with this quatrain of Sarfi from his Persian *DIWAN*

O, Sarfi, as on every side
a ray

Has fallen from His face to
light the night,

Impossible it is for you to say

That Somnath has not the
Kaba's light.

This indwelling harmony,
this unity in duality

is the theme of the selections presented here. So life is sweet, an adventure well-worth going through. Whether it is the *Gopis* in Krishna Razdan's *Why Renounce the World*:

Our love of Him is our
austerity,

Our songs of Him end bleak
severity...

or Habib - ullah in the
Joyous Wine:

Whoever his true inner self
discovers,

With drunken bliss and rapture
overflows.

or Wahab Khar in *The Angel's Dance*:

And since I, too, have tried
to glance

Upon the secret of man's being
I kneel,

And lo! the angles have begun
to dance.

or Utpalacharya in *Communion Hymn*:

Thou shinest forth and all
things live and move;

Thou dancest in the joy which
overflows

*From self and all creation
laughs and grows...*

*I would but see Thee in the
festival*

*Of objects of the senses and
the mind !*

or Habba Khatun in
GATHER VOILETS; O
NARCISSUS

*Rains have come, and fields
and fruit-trees sing,*

*Spring has come, and love
the Lord of spring.*

or Zinda Kaul in *My Lover
Awaits :*

*One night there came
with the late rising moon*

*A sweeter music from
the songs of space,*

*A flower fragrance
filled my dewelling place,*

*So beautiful the perfum-
ed air became,*

*I asked, had my etern-
al lover come ?*

all live in hope and par-
take of the joy of living.
In the words of the autho-
ress, "Kashmir has regarded
its own beauty as revel-

ation of the true reality,
and the object of its philo-
sophy has been to restore
the first pure order."

This unity of theme and
sentiment is a great help
in the study of the philo-
sophic thought of Lalla
whose *vakya* or sayings
usually appear to be scat-
tered in nature and want
a linking cord. The burden
of thought in the poems
is the same : the approach
to the Reality is direct
and the outward differ-
ences in names, forms and
modes of worship or
insistence upon traditional
morality lead nowhere.

Says Lalla :

*He only who has known
that he is one*

*With every other but
for change of name,*

*Who sees but one,
will be the one alone*

To find the God

Supreme !

So Aziz Darvesh :

I.....

.....saw above

And in a brighter dawn,
No Hindu and no musul-
man are there !
and Habibulla asks :

When faith is one in
all, in all the same,

Why one is classed an
infidel, apart,

Another called a Mus-
lim, though the name
Is all that differs !

The sentiment express-
ed by Utpalacharya eleven
hundred years ago in the
lines:

If it were merit which
Thou didn't demand,

It then were fair that
Thou shouldst thus delay

The revelation of
Thyself to me.

Thy grace on merit
never did depend !
obviously lays emphasis on
love as a means of seeking
unity with the Divine Soul.
The same feeling is ex-

pressed by Zinda Kaul
thus :

"The man who seeks
reward in the form of
paradise and houris for
religious duties is like one
who dismantles a mosque
to build a shop."

and by Rasa Javidani, an-
other contemporary poet
as:

Will He for a deed of
merit paradise give?

And the Compassionate
adopt a merchant's view ?

Though love is in the
gift of the Divine Giver :

How may the devotee's
heart suffused be

Unless the Lord be-
stows from whom seeks he.
as said by Parmanand, it is
for the seeker to coax and
tease Him with the sincerity
of his passion which
ultimately annihilates
space, time and matter :

The lover is the one in
whom desire

*Has melted self to shine
like heated gold.*

*The heart, transfixed
by this radiant fire*

*In spacelessness the
whole of space will hold.*

(Sheikh Nur-ud-Din)

*To love I have abandon-
ed all, my soul,*

*My self, and God is
pleased !*

(Habibullah)

It is wonderful to be a poet and tear the veils of numerous hearts. But in our days it is, indeed, most wonderful to present all the poetic graces of a literature known to a limited number of people in a language understood far more widely, and Miss Cook has done so. But the path of the translator is no primrose path, especially when attempting a transformation of the original in rhythmic graceful verse, and an idea here and a

concept there does occasionally suffer. Zinda Kaul's "My Lover from Eternity Awaits" has been given the title *Nātaiyāri* or 'Unpreparedness' by the poet himself. In Miss Cook's version 'nor for your giving grieve' (P. 5) does not seem to cover the original of the poet :

Tar con aza zāna bō tay kar myon
nor the poet's own English rendering, "Your own welfare is my business, leave that to me." Likewise a very significant line of the original poem :

Sāla ro'stuy āw bāla yār myon
has been rendered as "I asked, had my eternal lover come?" Which obviously omits the word 'uninvited'. But such difficulties will always be found in rendering poetry from one language into another.

In spite of that, however *the Way of the Swan* is a creditable achievement and will be read with delight by all those who

are interested in the who want to acquaint
unveiled self-revelation themselves with the de-
lightful poetry of Kashmir.
of mystics, who seek to
have an understanding of
the thought and culture of
this land of Rishis and

—(Prof.) S. L. Sadhu

[Two copies of a relevant publication intended to
be reviewed in these columns are invited. —Ed]

Miscellanea :

1 ROMAN & DEVANĀGARĪ TRANSLITERATION OF THE KASHMIRI ALPHABET

Now that the official script for *Kashmiri* has been finalised, the question of *Roman* and *Devanāgarī* transliteration of the *Kashmiri* sounds assumes a purely academic significance for purposes of linguistic studies.

After a number of preliminary experiments in the direction I have found it advisable to press the *apo strophe* (') into service as a modifying index : indicating the additional *Kashmiri* sounds akin to those of the *Roman* or the *Devanāgarī* vowel preceding the sign. So with the inverted comma (') for two cerebral sounds *t* and *d*.

Thus, for instance. :

aa for आ, the long of a.

ee for ई, the long of i.

oo for ऊ, the long of u.

a' or अ' for the short sound of e
in certainly.

aa' or आ' (i') for the long i in bird
or u in curd.

u' or उ' (u) for the short u in
occurrence.

oo' or ऊ' (u) for the long of u.

e' or ए' (e) for the short e in pen.,

o' or	ओ' (ो')	for the short o (<i>initial</i>) in o' clock.
-y or	-य्	for an extremely short final i.
-w or	-व्	for an extremely short final u
-ya or	-य-	for the semi-vowel y.
-wa or	-व-	for the semi-vowel w.

B. *Consonants :*

Ch for च as in **chum**.

Chh for छ as in **church-hall** (medial).

ts or च् for the first s in 'boats sail'.

tsh or छ् for the aspirated च

t' for ट, and d' for ड.

The following passage will illustrate the system further :

aami panu' so'dras

naavi chhas lamaan

kati bozi dai myon

me'ti diyi taar;

aamyan t'aakyan

pony zan shamaan

zuv chhum bramaan

garu' gatshu'haa'.

आमि पनु' सो'दरस नावि छस लमान

कति बोझि दय म्योन मे'ति दियि तार;

आम्यन टाक्यन पोन्ग जन शमान

जुव छुम ब्रमान गरु' ग.छु'हा' ।

II A NOTE ON ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *Frontispice* : A fine portrait. of Sheikh Noor ud-Dīn Nūrānī (popularly known as Nunda' Ryo'sh), : the most highly revered patron saint of Kashmir (779 A.H. to 842 A. H. / 1377 A.D. to 1438 A. D.) The local colour of the painting is obvious from the *Kāngrī* ; but the general treatment points out to a later Moghal period. The original painting in water-colour is in the private collection of Hakim Sayyid Shah Sahib of Āstan-e-Pāīn, Kashtawar, to whom our grateful thanks are due for allowing us to microfilm many pieces

VI *Abhinavaguptācārya*, [the *Gurunātha*] : A recent painting by an unknown artist who has tried to depict the Ācārya in his *āśrama* as described by *Madhurāja* in his *parāmarśa* (Cf. Verses 3-6). The great savant's integrative outlook on life is very well brought out in the poise between *rāga* (: attachment) and *virāga* (: detachment). Cf. his exhortation :

मा किञ्चित्प्रयज, मा गृहाण, विलस

स्वस्थो यथावस्थितः !'

II-V *Four Paintings from Bhadravah* :

III. *Ardhanarīśvara* : A portrayal of the Almighty as a perfect synthesis of the male

and female aspects of the life principle, reminding us of *Kalidasa's* famous invocation :

वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

and *Kalhāṇa's* invocation in almost all the *tarāṅgas* of his *Rājartaraṅgī*. The piece is in the *Pahārī* style with a pronounced influence of the *Basohli* school.

IV & V : Depict two lovely episodes from the *Kumārasambhava* of *Kalidasa* :

a. *Śiva*, in the garb of a *brahmacārī* goes to the penance-grove of *Pārvatī* and probes her, only to be categorically told that she would accept none but *Śiva* as her life-companion. *Śiva* remonstrates : न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत् ।

b. *Kāma* unnerved by *Śiva's* austere grandeur derives fresh strength from the sudden appearance of *Pārvatī*, and aims afresh at *Śiva* only to be reduced to ashes by the fire of indignation shooting forth from his third eye. The depiction of *Kāma*, here, reminds us of *Kalidasa's* words :

ददर्श चक्रीकृतचारुचापं

प्रहर्तुं सभ्युद्यतमात्मयोनिम् ॥

VI. *Nāgapal* : the last independant ruler of Bhadrawah, whose valiant defiance of *Akbar* the Great, has been traditionally handed down to us in a popular legend. That indeed, is the evidence of the *Paṭ mela*, celebrated every year in the Bhadrawah town in the first fortnight of September. It is on this very occasion that we find the *Kuḍ* dancers at their best. The original painting belongs to Sri *Sant Ram* the *Lambardar* of Bhadrawah Khas, to whom our thanks are due for kind permission to take a microfilm.

VII, VIII : Two pages from the fragments of a neatly written caligraphic MS of *Surdasa's* *Sūrasāgara* (in the Persian script) with an interlinear word-for-word translation into easy unorthodox Persian. Palaeographically the MS does not appear to be more than a century old. Most probably it was written during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign when inter-linguistic translations were very zestfully encouraged both by the patron as well as his nobles and courtiers. The interlinear Persian translation, here, appears to be the work of a Hindu scholar, as is clearly indicated by the diction in :

har Keh rā hār ceh svabhāv bashed
(line 2); or

āñ īshar hameshe buzurg... (line 8).

Similarly *soī prabh* is rendered as *āñ īshar* and *abigat* as *parameshar*. That speaks fairly well of the linguistic sanity and cultural soundness of our ancestors even a century ago. Incidentally the MS throws light on the popularity of *Surdasa's* devotional lyrics in Kashmir from the musical point of view, as is clear from the titles : the names of classical *rāgas* like *Kānhṛā*, *gaurī* and *pūrbī*.

ED.

[Note: *PEEPS INTO MSS* could not be given in the present issue owing to lack of space.]

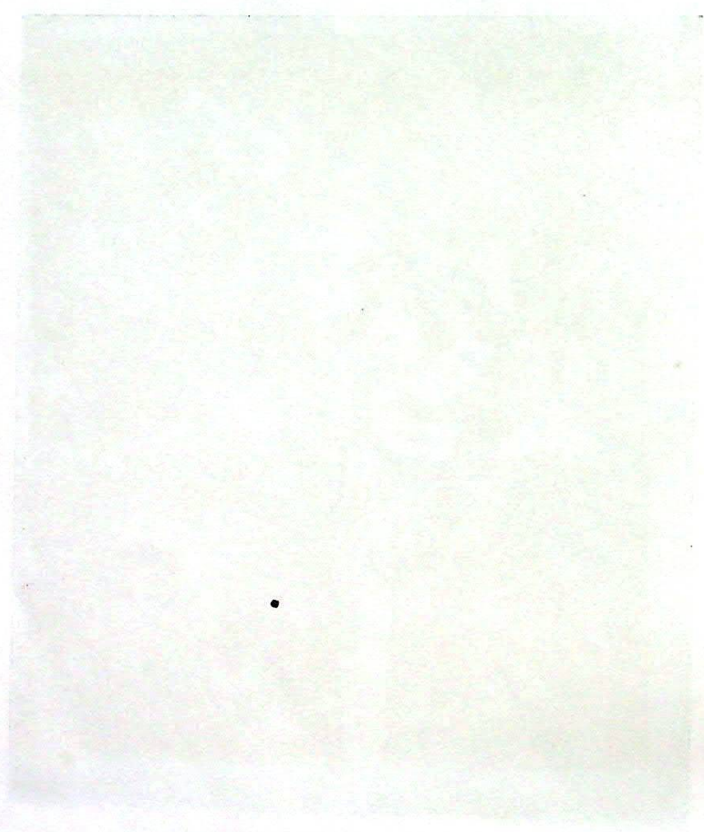
IN THE NEXT ISSUE

1. The Burjhama Excavations (in Kashmir)
2. Dogri Folk lore
3. Satire in Kashmir
4. Samvit in Śaivism
5. Textual Reconstitutions
[: *Tantrasāra* etc.]
6. In search of Manuscripts
[with *Peeps into some of them*]
7. The Earliest Traces of the Kashmiri
Language
8. Is Dogri a Dialect of Panjabi ?
9. More than a dozen plates of rare paintings and illustrations etc. etc.

Plate No. II

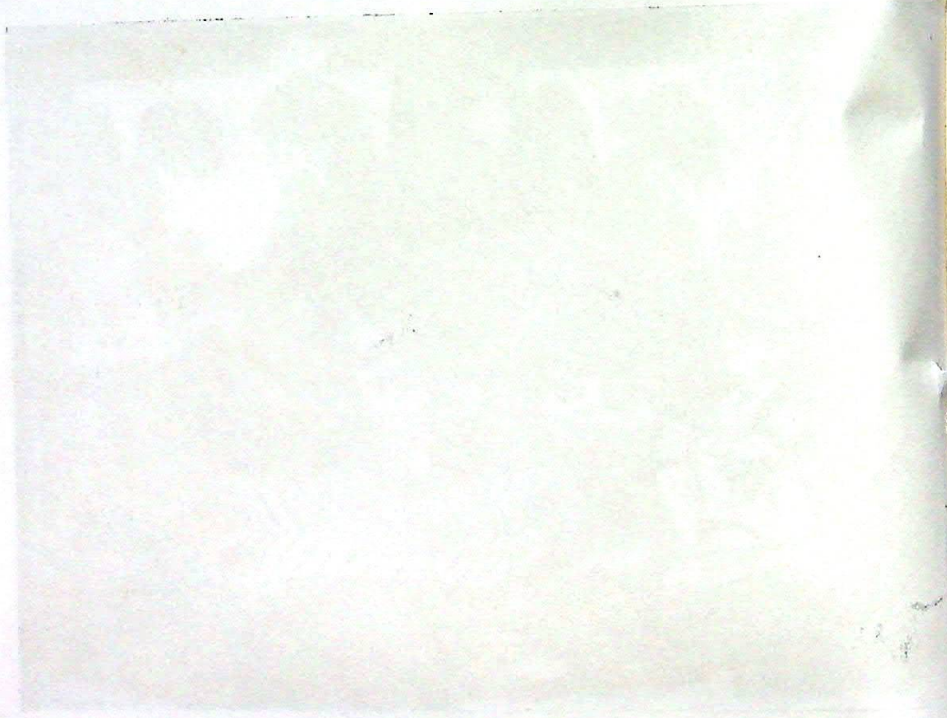


Ardhanārīśvara
[जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ]





Śiva Probing Pārvati
[न रत्नमन्विष्यति मृग्यते हि तत्]



1874-1875
[1874-1875]

Plate No. IV



Kāma Takes An Aim Again
[कामस्तु बाणावसरं प्रतीक्ष्य...]

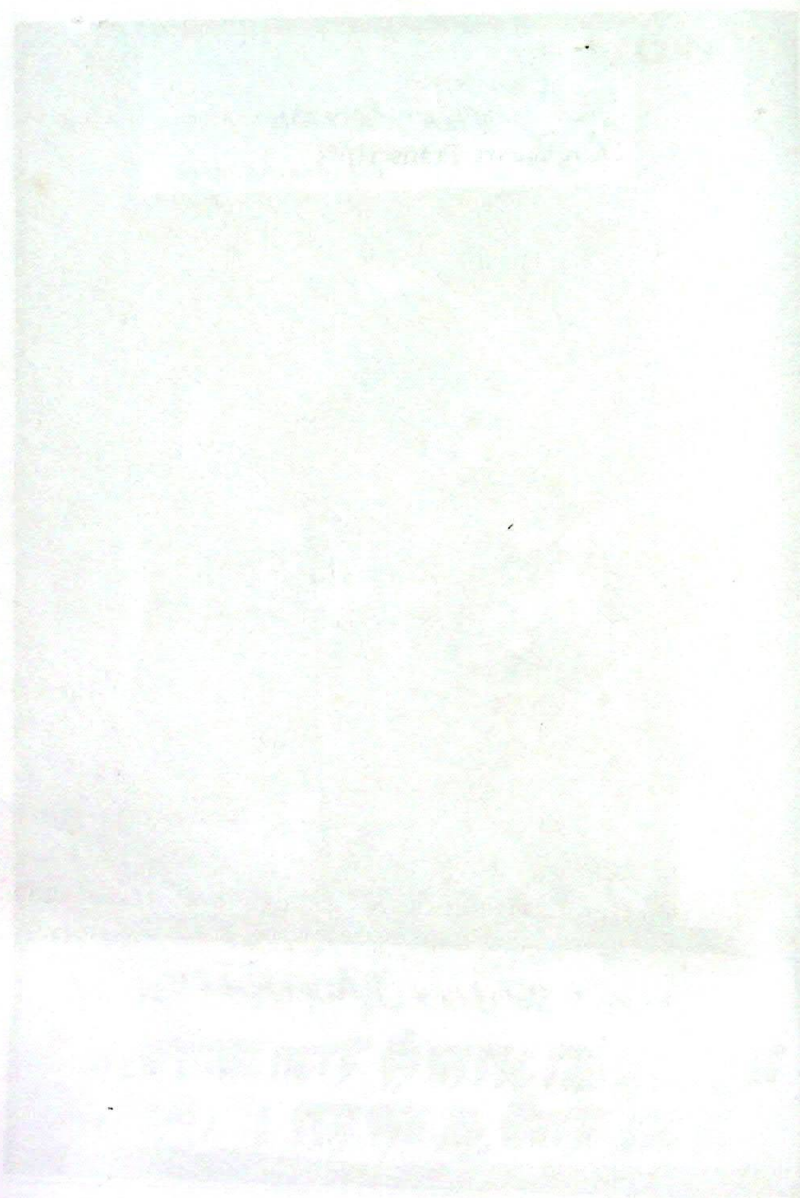
महाराष्ट्र राज्य सरकार
[...]

Courtesy:
 LALA SANTRAM,
 Lambardar,
 Bhadravah khas



بھدرwah کا آخری راجہ ناگپال و رانی کستلا
 भद्रवाह का आखरी राजा नागपाल
 तथा रानी कुसला । (चित्र)

Nagapala, the last Independent
 Ruler of Bhadravah



GURUNĀTHA-PARĀMARŚA OF MADHURĀJA

—o—

PREFATORY :

The text edited here is based on the following :

(a) Devanāgarī Transcripts :

(1) L: Kindly loaned out by Brahmācārī Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa of the Īśvara-Āśrama (Ishabar), Srinagar. (Copied out by him in 1925 from a Devanāgarī transcript belonging to a *gr̥hasthī mahātmā* of Madras.)

(2) R: belonging to the Research Library, Srinagar. (Strictly speaking, just a copy of L retouched, here and there, by the late Sri M. S. Koul, Superintendent of the Department.)

(b) C: (Ms D No. 15323 of the Sanskrit College, Tripunittura, Cochin) as utilized by Dr V. Raghavan in his edition of the work, published in the JOR, Madras.

Now a collation of a and b reveals that neither can be regarded as completely authentic; the two versions appear to be complementary to each other. Only twenty-eight¹ verses are common to both. While eighteen² are peculiar to R (and L), C has an addition of nineteen.³ Mysteriously enough both these addenda (to the common stock) are more or less characterized by specific references to *Abhinavagupta*. Thus, out of the eighteen peculiar to a, only two stanzas (Nos 1 and

1. Nos : 7, 8, 10-32 and 34-36

2. Marked * in the the text, here.

3. Cf App. 1

33) do not explicitly mention *Abhinava*, though the allusion is there. Of the remaining stanzas, Nos: 2-6, 9, 37 and 38 mention him as *Abhinava* or *Gurunātha*; Nos: 39-44 mention *Mādhura* or *Madhurāja*, the poet; while Nos: 45 and 46 mention both the preceptor and the pupil.

Similarly nine ⁴ out of the nineteen verses peculiar to C refer to *Abhinava-Bhārati*: his celebrated commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of *Bharata*. Of the remaining ten very few have a direct bearing on the poem itself. Have these been drawn from some other work or works by the poet? Or, even wrongly ascribed to him by some early copyist? No categorical statement on this point is possible as long as a more complete Ms of the work is not discovered.

Anyway, the present version is published in the hope that it positively records a further step in the direction of establishing the text of the original poem by *Madhurāja* of *Madhurā* (modern *Madurai*), and also throws some light on Kashmir's cultural and intellectual intercourse even with very remote parts of our country.

Our grateful acknowledgements are due to *Brahmachari Rajanaka Lakshmana* for readily placing his transcript at our disposal, and to *Dr V. Rāghavan* whose edition we have profitably consulted and quoted.

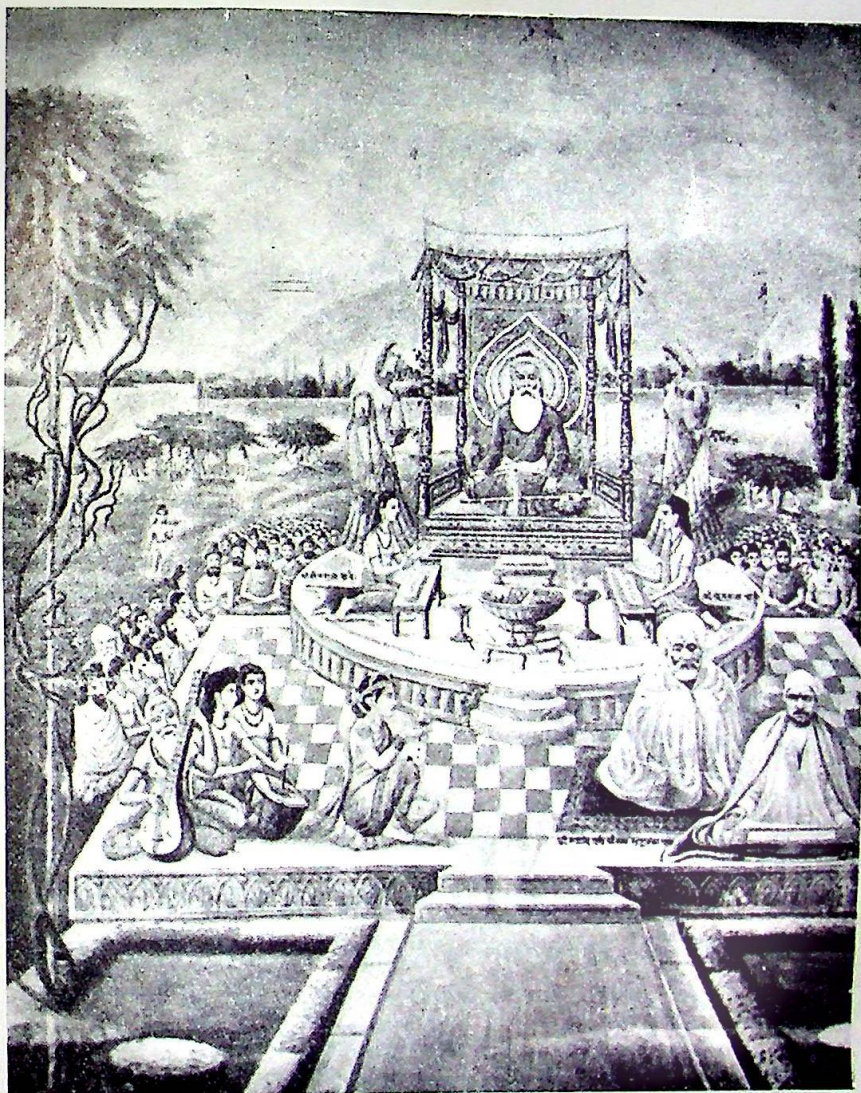
Srinagar,

Aug. 15, '60.

—**P. N. Pushp**

4. Nos : 1-9 (App. I)

Plate No. II



Abhinavaguptācārya
(: the Gurunātha)

[Tenth Century A. D.]

अथ
मधुराजयोगिविरचितः
श्री गुरुनाथपरामर्शः

—०—

सदसदनुग्रहनिग्रहगृहीतमुनिविग्रहो भगवान् ।
 सर्वासामुपनिषदां दुर्वासा जयति देशिकः^१ प्रथमः ॥१॥ ❀
 श्रीवसुगुप्तमहागुरु-सोमानन्दप्रभूत्पलाचार्यान् ।
 अभिनवगुप्तं नाथं वन्दे श्रीक्षेमराजञ्च ॥२॥ ❀
 द्वाक्षारामस्य मध्ये स्फटिकमणिमये मण्डपे चित्ररम्ये
 पुष्पलग्नधूपदीपैर्वहलपरिमले चर्चिते चन्दनादयैः ।
 चाद्यैर्गीतैः सनृत्तैः सततमुखरिते योगिनीसिद्धसङ्घै-
 राकोर्णै स्वर्णपीठे मृदुतमविलसद्बद्धमुक्ताविताने ॥३॥ ❀

आसीतः क्षेमराजप्रभृतिभिरखिलैः
 सेवितः शिष्यवर्गैः
 पादोपान्ते विषण्णैरवहितहृदयै-
 रुक्तमुक्तं लिखद्भिः ।
 द्वाभ्यां पार्श्वस्थिताभ्यां शिवरस-
 [सरकं^२] पूर्णताम्बूलपेटौ
 दूतीभ्यां विभ्रतीभ्यामपरकरलस-
 न्मातुलुङ्गोत्पलाभ्याम् ॥४॥ ❀

आनन्दादोलिताक्षः^३ स्फुटकृततिलको भस्मना भालमध्ये
 रुद्राक्षोल्लासिकर्णः कलितकचभरो मालया लम्बकूर्चः ।
 रक्ताङ्गो यक्षपङ्कोलसदसितगलो लम्बमुक्तोपवीतः
 क्षौमं वासो वसानः शशिकरधवलं वीरयोगासनस्थः ॥५॥ ❀

*Verses peculiar to R (& L)

1. दैशिकः (L); 2. करकं (R & L); 3. -ताम्बूल (R & L).

जान्वासक्तैकहस्तः स्फुटपरमशिवज्ञानमुद्राक्षसूत्रो
 वामश्रीपाणिपद्मस्फुरितनखमुखैर्वादयन्नादवीणाम् ।
 श्रीकण्ठेशावतारः परमकरुणया प्राप्तकरमीरदेशः
 श्रीमान्नः पातु साक्षादभिनववपुषा दक्षिणामूर्तिदेवः ॥६॥ ❀

यत् सारस्वत[रस^१] सिद्ध एव शुद्धः
 सर्वोऽध्वा^२ विलसति वाच्यवाचकात्मा ।
 काश्मीरो^३ जयति जगद्धितावतारः
 स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तदेशिकेन्द्रः ॥७॥ ❀

अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतपरमरसास्वादमोदमानानाम् ।
 अमृतमपि दत्तममरैररुचिकृदस्माकमारनालमिव ॥८॥
 अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतपर्वतशिखराधिरूढहृदयानाम् ।
 मातङ्गवदतितुङ्ग^४ मशकवदाभात्यधःस्थितं सकलम् ॥९॥
 अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतपरिमलबहुला^५धिवांसते जगति ।
 सङ्क्रन्दनोऽपि निन्दति नन्दनहरिचन्दनामोदम् ॥१०॥
 अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतचन्द्रातपचर्चिते जगति ।
 कथमिव तमःकथा वा तापकथा वा प्रगल्भते स्थातुम् ॥११॥
 अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतरसवेधितहृदयधातूनाम्^६ ।
 प्रसृमरषोडशवर्णकसौवर्णमयं प्रकाशते विश्वम् ॥१२॥
 अभिनवगुरुसारस्वतमार्तण्डमरीचिपरिचयोन्निद्रे ।
 हृत्पुण्डरीककुहरे निवसति नियमेन मोक्षलक्ष्मीर्नः ॥१३॥
 अभिनवगुरुमुखपद्मप्रसृतशिवाद्वैतशीधुशील[नया^७] ।
 प्रशमित^७पाशवशासनशङ्कातङ्का सुखेन विहरामः ॥१४॥

-
1. -स्वतसिद्ध ((R & L); -स्वतरससिद्ध (C); 2. ऽध्वा (C);
 3. काश्मीरी (C); 4. बहुला-(C); 5. धातूणाम्;
 6. शीलनद्या (R), शीलायाः (L); 7. पाशवशासौ चिन्ता (C).

निजहृदयकुहरनिहितस्फुरदभिनवगुप्तवाङ्मयधनानाम्^८ ।
अस्माकंमात्मविदुषामव्याहृतमेव सहजमैश्वर्यम् ॥१५॥

अभिनवपरमेश्वरप्रसादात्
स्वहृदयसंनिहितात्मदेवतानाम् ।

जडघटपटताम्रकाञ्चनाशम् —

प्रभृतिषु न प्रतिमासु पूजनास्था ॥१६॥

अभिनवपरमेश्वरप्रसादा-^९

दपगतभौतिकविग्रहाग्रहाणाम् ।

परधनहरणादिपापचिन्ता

परपुरुषाणि वचांसि वा कथं स्युः ॥१७॥

सिद्धान्तवामभैरवयामलकौलत्रिकैकवीरविदाम् ।

अभिनवगुप्तः श्रीमानाचार्यपदे स्थितो जयति ॥१८॥

यो मेलने क्वचन देशिकयोगिनीना-

मद्यप्रभृत्यखिल एष गुरुक्रमौघः ।

त्वय्येव सङ्क्रमित इत्युपलालितो भू-

त्तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥१९॥

पर्यन्तसंपदुपपादनकल्पवल्ली

पञ्चाशिका परमकारुणिकेन येन ।

प्रोक्ता त्विहा^{१०}द्वयनये जनतां^{११} नियोक्तुं

तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥२०॥

ग्रन्थं^{१२} कथामुखमहातिलकाभिधानं^{१२a}

न्यायोक्तषोडशपदार्थनिरूपणाभिः ।

8. धनानाम् (C); 9. वीराणाम् (C); 10. निजा (C);

11. ऽञ्जनतां (C); 12. ग्रन्थः (C), obviously corrupt;

12a. — धानः (C).

यो वादिनां व्यरचयद्विजयाय वादे
 तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥२१॥
 अभिनवगुप्तनाथलिखितं लिखितं हृदये
 तदितरशास्त्रकारलिखितं लिखितं सलिले ।
 स्वहृदयदेवतामुखहुतं हुतमग्निमुखे
 तदितरदेवतासु निहितं निहितं भसिते ॥२२॥

श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तः^{१३} सत्यं श्रीकृष्णनाथ एवेति ।
 प्रतिपद्यतामितरथा व्याख्यातृत्वं कथं भवेदित्थम् ॥२३॥
 अभिनवसहकारमञ्जरीयं मधुमधुरं निजसौरभं वमन्ती ।
 रसयति नहि केवलं वसन्तं सकलमतीतमनागतञ्च कालम् ॥२४॥
 अभिनवगुप्तमुखेन्दोरमृतकलोल्लासिसुन्दरादुदिता ।
 ज्ञानेन्दुकौमुदी नः पूर्णं पुष्पातु शिव [भोगम्]^{१४} ॥२५॥

अञ्जनेन हृदये ममाञ्जिते
 भञ्जनेन भववासनारुजाम् ।
 दृश्यतेऽभिनवगुप्तदेशिकः
 सञ्चितः शिवनिधिः पदे पदे ॥२६॥

गुरवे नमो गुरुणामभिनवगुप्ताय वृद्धवैद्याय^{१५} ।
 विश्वशिवाद्वयशीलनविध्युपदेशोपशामितविश्वरुजे ॥२७॥
 अभिनवगुप्तदेशिक^{१६} मुखोद्गतसूक्तिसुधामुरतटिनी ।
 प्रवाहलहरीलवमात्रमपि श्रुतिसरणिं पवित्रयति
 यस्य स एव कृती^{१७} ॥२८॥

-
13. गुप्ताचार्यः (C);
 14. or [योगम्]; भोगम् (C); शिवदोगम् (L); शिवाद्योद्योगम् (R);
 15. मेधाय (L); 16. दैशिकः (L);
 17. C adds यदि हृदयं प्रविष्टमथ किं शिव एव हि सः ।

मधुरा¹⁸ महेश्वकथामकरन्दधुनी
 परिमलमज्जनध्वनिपवित्रितभक्तजना ।
 अभिनवगुप्तनाथवदनाम्बुजवाग्भ्रमरी
 शिव शिव गाढं¹⁹ मूढमपि मां मुखरीकुरुते ॥२६॥
 अभिनवगुप्तयुक्तिपरिशीलनपाटवत-
 स्तुटितसमस्तसंशयतमःपटले हृदये ।
 मुकुर²⁰ इवाभाति मुखमण्डल²¹मखण्डमिदं
 यदि²² हृदयं प्रविष्टमप्य किं शिव एव हि सः ॥३०॥
 मनसैव गम्यते या परिपन्थिन एव पालका यस्याम् ।
 प्रतिपदविश्रान्तिमयी पद्धतिरियमभिनवा जयति ॥३१॥
 चमत्कुर्वन्तु मां सर्वे न्यक्कुर्वन्त्वथवा बुधाः ।
 न मद्गुर्वधिकः कश्चिद्विपश्चिच्छिवनिश्चये ॥३२॥
 व्याप्तः परे नभसि भाति रवीन्दुयोगा-
 न्मध्येपथं महति तेजसि दीप्यमाने ।
 महेशिकः²³ परमकारुणिकः पुनर्मे
 चिद्देवतावपुरसौ हृदये चकास्ति ॥३३॥
 दत्तक्षणेन भविनां²⁴ मलजालशुद्धौ
 सिद्धौषधेन गुरुनाथनिरीक्षणेन ।
 विद्वः क्षणेन यदहं निजहृद्गुहायां
 सौवर्णपूर्णसकलावयवोऽस्मि तस्मात् ॥३४॥

-
18. मधुरं (C); 19. गाढमूढम्—(as emended by Dr V. Raghavan);
 20. मुकुरा (C); 21. —मण्डम्—(C); 22. L gives this
 line as the first of the stanza while C adds it on
 to V 28, rearranging the verse into a KOKILAKA
 stanza (of 4 lines); 23. दैशिकः (L); 24. भविना (L).

वस्तुनि वस्तुनि योऽसौ निवसति कार्तस्न्येन कार्तस्न्येन ।
विस्मयनिधये तस्मै नमो नमः श्रीमते गुरवे ॥३५॥

गुरुरेव शिवः शिवत्वदायी

न परः कर्मवशेन भोगदाता ।

शिव एव गुरुः कृपात्तमूर्तिः

पशुपाशच्छिदिहान्यथा कथं स्यात् ॥३६॥

अभिनवोत्पलसौरभसंस्कृतं

रसयतः शिवदृष्टिरसायनम् ।

इह सदैव सदैव निरामयं

हृदयमस्तु मम प्रतिभामयम् ॥३७॥❀

चतुरधिकसप्ततितमे वर्षे मम वर्तमानेऽस्मिन् ।

पितुरधिगतमपि बाल्येऽप्यभिनवमिव भाति गुप्तमध्यापि ॥३८॥

विस्तीर्णसद्गुरुरुपदस्मरणप्लवेन

निस्तीर्णभीमतरभैरवधीप्रवाहः ।

अद्याष्टसप्ततितमे वयसीह वर्ते

वाचा सुधारसमुचा सह माधुरोऽहम् ॥३९॥❀

शक्तित्रयैकशरणे पराक्रमाक्रान्तविश्वादिक्चक्रे ।

मधुराजे मयि जीवति अनश्वरं नूनमीश्वराद्वैतम् । ४०॥❀

दण्डकमण्डलुर्कर्परकन्था-

मात्रपरिच्छदगात्रकुटुम्बः ।

खण्डनमण्डनतुल्यमतिः सन्

वीरमते रमते मधुराजः ॥४१॥❀

कक्षारोपितभिक्तः²⁵ कर्परकन्था कमण्डलुर्दण्डी ।

रक्षावगुण्ठिततनुर्व्याख्यायतनेषु माधुरश्चरति ॥४२॥❀

नवनवगद्यपद्यमयसूक्तिसहस्रसुधारस—

घनसारसौरभवशीकृतविश्वधियः ।

अविरतमुन्मिषन्तु हृदये हृदये विदुषां

शिवपदकिङ्करस्य मधुराजकवेः कृतयः ॥४३॥❀

परचिदमृतपायी पंचकृत्यांनपायी

पशुपतिपददायी पार्वती संप्रदायी ।

जितकरणनिकायो नित्यनीरोगकायो

विहरति मधुराजो योगिनां राजराजः ॥४४॥❀

मधुरमाधुरभाषितभूषिता

सहृदयश्रुतिपद्धतिरुद्धता ।

अमिनवैर्नवभिर्भरितं रसै-

रमृतमुद्रमति स्वकजिह्वया ॥४५॥❀

शिवहृदयनराजीवान्मधुरं मधुराजवदनराजीवात् ।

अभिनवरसभरितं सारं सारस्वतं मधु स्रवति ॥४६॥❀

इति महायोगीश्वर-मधुराज-कवि-विरचितः

श्रीगुरुनाथ परामर्शः

समाप्तः

APPENDIX I

Additional Verses According to MS C
(as edited by Dr V. Raghavan).

—:०:—

1. स्वच्छन्दप्रसृतमरगद्यपद्यविद्या-
वैशद्यप्रकटिततत्तदागमार्थाः ।
पाशच्छित्परमशिवाद्योपदेशैः
पान्त्वस्मानभिनवगुप्तपादाः ॥१॥
2. तर्षं यश्शमयति वाङ्मयोद्यवर्षैः
भक्तानां भवमरुमार्गचङ्क्रमोत्थम् ।
हर्षं वः प्रदिशतु सच्चिदम्बरस्थः
स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तकालमेघः ॥२॥
3. सङ्कोचं दलयति हृत्सरोरुहाणां
गोभिर्यस्सकलदिगन्तसर्पिणीभिः ।
आलोकं दिशतु दशामलौकिकं नः
स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तनाथसूर्यः ॥४॥
4. यस्तापं हरति तमांसि च स्वभासा
स्वच्छात्मा सकलकलाकलापपूर्णः ।
आनन्दं दिशतु दशाममन्दमन्तः
स श्रीमानभिनवगुप्तनाथचन्द्रः ॥५॥
5. एकद्वयाद्ययुगपक्षपरप्रमाणैः
संक्षेपविस्तरकृतैर्वचसां प्रबन्धैः ।
योऽन्वग्रहीत स सुकुमारसुमूढमबुद्धिः
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥६॥

6. षट्त्रिंशदाह्निकमितं भरतोक्तनाट्य-
वेदं रसरूपचितं नवभिर्विवृण्वन् ।
यो भारतीमभिनवां रचयाञ्चकार
तस्मै नमोऽभिनवगुप्तगुरुत्तमाय ॥ १० ॥
7. दिशि दिशि विहराम्यहं वीतशंकाकलंकस्सुखं
भगवति परमेश्वरेऽनुत्तरे भक्तिमात्मनि ।
स्फुरदभिनवगुप्तनाथाननाम्भोजवाग्वाहिनी-
रसपरिमलमज्जनोन्मज्जनानन्दलीलापरः ॥ ३० ॥
8. महामहेश्वरश्रीमदाचार्याभिनवोक्तयः ।
हृदये प्रतितिष्ठन्तु प्रतिष्ठन्तां पशुक्तयः ॥ ३१ ॥
9. सदाभिनवगुप्तवागभृतपानगोष्ठीरसात्
पराकृतसमस्तपाशविकल्पनाविषयम् ।
मम त्वयि निवेशितं मयि तवापि मग्नं मनः
परस्पररसास्पदं भुवि परेश संपद्यताम् ॥ ३३ ॥
10. इष्टपोषणमनिष्टसंभृतलोषणं तदुभयात्मकं वरम् ।
वारि वह्निमयमर्थिने ददद् देव एव वरदो
महान् भवान् ॥ ३४ ॥
11. या चिदुल्लसति विश्व-सत्तया सा शिवोऽहमिति
विश्वसत्तया ।
आकलय्य सकृदेव मुच्यते देशिकैरसकृदेवमुच्यते
॥ ३८ ॥
12. अन्तस्स्थोर्ध्वज्वलनकलयात्पूष्मलं शैवसिद्धं
यत्तज्ज्योतिःपदमुदयतो वाङ्मयं प्रस्तुतामः ।
स्वोन्मेषोर्मिस्फुरितभरितानुत्तरानन्दसान्द्रं
पश्यन्तस्मिन् परमकवयः पाणिने सद्यसूत्रे ॥ ३६ ॥
13. विश्वं तुरीये चित्सूत्रे वाकल्यक्त्यात्मनि गुम्फितम् ।
इत्युपादिक्षदस्माकं पाणिनिः परमो गुरुः ॥ ४० ॥

14. अस्पृष्टपूर्वोत्तरकर्मयोगमिदं कृतं पश्चिममेव येन ।
तदक्षिणीकृत्य शिवाय तस्मै निवेदितं मे गुरवे
शरीरम् ॥ ४१ ॥
15. जीवन्नेव शिवोऽस्मि सद्गुरुगिरा ज्ञानक्रियाशक्तिभिः
ज्ञानेन प्रतिपादितेन जनवत् सञ्चिष्टमानोऽप्यहम् ।
प्रारब्धाखिलपूर्वकर्मसदसद्भोगोपभोगक्षयात्
देहेऽस्मिन् पतिते चराचरजगत्स्वात्मा स एवेश्वरः
॥ ४३ ॥
16. श्रीमदेशिकटक्टाक्षलहरीसंघट्टमात्रनुट-
न्मायीयाणवकामपाशपटलस्पष्टीभवद्दृष्टयः ।
स्वच्छस्वात्मविमर्शदर्पणतले विश्वं विमृश्य स्फुर-
त्स्वेच्छासंहतिसर्गकेलिरसिकाः स्वैरं चरामो वयम्
॥ ४४ ॥
17. देशिकवागुपदेशविनश्यद्देहमरुन्मतिशून्यविकल्पो ।
अद्वयबोधविमर्शमयस्सन्नद्य शिवोऽस्मि शिवोऽस्मि
शिवोऽस्मि ॥ ४५ ॥
18. न वेदवेदाङ्गपरिश्रमो मे न तर्कशिक्षा न च कार्यशिक्षा ।
तथापि तावत् परिमार्ष्टि मौढ्यं गुरूपदेशप्रति-
पत्तिदाढ्यम् ॥ ४६ ॥
19. जाणं काणं कुणंतो णं जीवंताणंशि(सि)वत्तणम् ।
वाचाहीणो विआजेणं (ण) नि(ण) च्चपुण्णो
स देशि(सि)ओ ॥ ४७ ॥
[येषां केषां कुर्वन्ननु जीवतां शिवत्वम् ।
वाचा हीनो व्याजेन (?)नित्यपूर्णस्स देशिकः ॥]

APP. II

A Note on Madhurāja

Madhurāja, the author of the *Gurunātha-Parāmarśa* was, according to his own statement, a *mādhura* : he hailed from *madhura* (present-day Madurai in South India)). He was a *yogi* (:योगिनां राजराजः)² of the *Pāśupata* (?) *sampradāya*, and moved³ from place to place without any personal belongings except a staff (दण्डः), a water vessel (कमण्डलुः), an earthen bowl (कर्पूर) and a patchwork blanket (कन्था). He was equally proficient⁴ in *khaṇḍana* (: smashing false wisdom) and *maṇḍana* (: establishing truth). He appears to have been the author of a number of works (कृतयः) both in prose and verse, and his skill in versification is fairly corroborated by the present *praśasti* : his tribute to the *Ācārya* (: Preceptor) at whose feet he studied⁵ the *Śaiva* doctrine for four years. He had approached him when he (: the pupil) was running the seventy-fourth year of his life. He looked⁶ upon the great savant as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* reborn in Kashmir. He seems to have been deeply impressed⁷ by the

- | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 Cf. Verse 39; | 2. Verse 44; | 3. Verse 41 | 4. Verse 43; |
| 5. Verse 38-39: | 6. Verse 6; | 7. Verse 37. | |

Āchārya's exposition of *Utpala's Śivadr̥ṣṭi*, perhaps presented by him in the (now lost) *Śivadr̥ṣṭi-locana*. Two other works of *Abhinava*, lost to us now, are mentioned by *Madhurāja*, namely: *Pañcāśikā*⁸ and *Kathāmukhamahātilaka*⁹. Of these the latter is perhaps referred to by *Abhinava* himself in his *Parātrimśikā*¹⁰, while the former is a new name. Dr *Raghavan* rightly identifies¹¹ it with *Paryanta-pāñcāśikā*.

Finally a word about the *forte* of the *Parāmarśa* : The pen-portrait ² of *Abhinava-guptācārya* in the arcadian *melieu* of his *āśrama* lit up by his spiritual radiance is so vivid and superb, and gives a convincing peep into the integrated porsonality of the great *Ācārya*.

—P. N. Pushp

8. Verse 20; 9. Verse 21; 10. K.T.S. 18, p 138; p 334;
11. JOR, Madras XIV, 12. Verses 3-6.

این دو دورا کسی که آفریده
 سوس بر پیه آب پالین گشت من پریم جواب چو
 آن اشخو دنگند ابدن دهنی اول نود
 کال گرم گشت نبت بندلی اگت آن سچو
 دانه قسمت بندی همیشه پریشتر خود بیگانه
 تدبیرم گنجان کر با نده اپنواش کوه
 بازم بزرگ دفع دانسته حقه خود بخود کشت
 پیه سسار دارا را چون مایا رنجه چو
 این دنیا ماند چپ تیر مایا این را سگر اند
 سودا اس بن کاج بهت مده هرمت امر مچو
 سگند سکا شازوم ایانکی تکیه کرد

راگ پوری

♦ حیاتِ جنِ گم ہے ♦

دردنگی آنجا که نبات یافتند
تیری نام بوان جدی تباری سرن گئی
نام تو چون تخت دان عوار شده دریاها توان داد
انبرک بر بادیکین و بر دمار دشمنه میاس
نام نام نام نام نام نام نام نام

راگ کاہرا

جاکی جی بدمد تاه دیون کون ٹوٹو

ہر کمال ہر جہ سرباواشد شہرت دارد

جاکی جیہ شنگاچی کو پیہے ریہے ایسا اور پوٹو

ہر کمال اندیشہ آرد آن کرامت پیدا شدہ

سب جی سب کی نامتہ جیون جن کی نامتہ اہرامراج اجت اکشہ

تمام موجودات مخلوقات صاحب درازی بی ہری دلی سرت لمہ دلہ دلہ

سو چہ حسنت سنا تہ سرن سدا نواس ت برو سید بدہ کہو کاوت گتہ

آن ایتر ہیشم ہرک ہیشم غیب بدہ جارید عادت خود بے سرائی

دیکھ دیون جکی مینت کل جلیت تبت اپنی اپنی ریت چکرت رحمت

دیدہ مرضی او (جہاں) تمام روند بر طور و چون خود حیران مانده

رب نہ تبت ات پون نہ تبت گت دولت نہ سین سر سدا نہ تبت

آقا بگرم نشود بابا زہار غافل سیکہ ناگ سر غافل سدا زباوہ نشود

مدہ کی مارن ماروسن دہرانی دہرانا تہا ہے کرا ہے بہت

کشتہ بدہ کتب بدہ تہن زمین گرہو راد زباوہ بکین راجن کشتہ

برگت سور کی سوامی اکہل امتر حاسے ایدہ اسرافہ ائی گت گت

چٹا پرا خاوند سور نام نام در کشتہ اورا در کشتہ اورا

راگ گوریہ

A Page

From Persian Sūrasāgara

KALĀM-e-SĀDIQ

PREFATORY :

The text of the *Kalām-e-Sadiq* is based on a single MS (belonging to our Research Library) in the *Khat -e Shikast* (: an extremely cursive hand). A few folios have been marginally eaten away by worms and that made the reading of the text an extremely difficult endeavour. Happily for us, while the *kitabāt* sheets were being scrutinized a MS of the *Dīwan-e-Sādiq* (belonging to Sri Qaisar Qalandar of Srinagar) came to our notice; and even at such a late stage we could ascertain the authenticity of our departmental MS. We are grateful to Sri Qalandar for having permitted us a few hurried peeps into his proud possession, and we hope to be afforded a more leisurely chance of studying the *Dīwan-e-Sadiq*.

Anyway, even as it stands, the *Kalām-e-Sadiq* speaks highly of **Shāh Sādiq Qalandar's** command over his medium, in spite of the traces of decadence which were characteristic of the period (:mid of the XVII cent.) to which he belonged. His handling of the main *genre* of Persian versification such as *tarjī-band*¹

1, Cf. Text, Pp 1 & 10.

*mutḥallas*², *ghazal*³, *mathnavī*⁴ and even *mustezād*⁵ betrays no mediocrity.

The earliest mention of *Shāh Sādiq*, that has come down to us, is that by *Ahmad Ibn-ul-Basur Kashmiri* in his *Khawārīq-us-sālikain*⁶ (1108 A.H.) only eight years after the poet's death (in 1100 A.H.) as given by *Hassan* in his *Tārīkh-e-Hassan*⁷ (Vol III).

Shāh Sādiq should not be confused with *Sādiquā-e-Qalandar*, the author of *Dīwān-e-Qalander* which, on close scrutiny, has turned out to be an altogether different work. The pen-name of *Shāh Sādiq* was *Sādiq* and not *Qalandar*, by which name he probably came to be known after becoming a mystic. That is why *Khwaja Azam Diddamari* in his *Tārīkh*⁸ calls him *Hāfiz Sādiq Majzoob*; and that surely is the evidence of his own verse⁹:

دست از همه شستیم و قلندر گشتیم اینک دریاب
So, over to his *Kalam*.

—P. N. Pushp

2. Op P13; 3. Op P 15; 4. Op P 17;

5. Op P 20; 6. Folio 190 (& App. P 19, I); 7. Folio 256 (& App. P 20, III); 8. Folio 181 (& App. P 19, II.); 9. App. Pp 20 & 22).

آنحضرت در مغلوبیت وفات یافت روز وفات ایشان سلخ ماه و یقعدہ
سلطو است و مرقد ایشان در موضع قبۃ لار بالائے بلندی مشہور۔

C

فی الحال خدمت سرود کائنات صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم پناہ بردم و آنجناب قلندر
را زجر فرمودند و گفتند چرا انتظام شریعت ما خراب ہے کئی برو در حفظ نیت
خود سرگرم باش و بعد ازین کہے را مزاحمت مرسان موجب آں قلندر راہ خود
گرفتہ نالوا۔ چہ را تصرف برداشت فقط۔

بعد ازاں حضرت شاہ از شہر برآمدہ در موضع وترلار کنج خلوت گرفت
و از اہل روزگار متنفر گشت و در ایام شعور بہرگاہ کہے از اہل فضل کمال
پیش او میرفت آنوقت بنگ و چرس استعمال میکرد و اگر کہے از اہل
این طائفہ پیش او میرسید آندم قرآن میخواند۔

می آزند کہ زنی عقیقہ شیر و برنج پختہ کردہ بدیہ ایشان آورد و بابت
اولاد التماس نمود۔ حضرت شاہ بویہ دو سیب بخشیدند و توجہ ایشان در
عرصہ دو سال او را دو پسر پیدا شدند۔ ہمچنین حالات و کرامات ایشان
از حد افزونست طبع موزوں داشت ابیات تصوفانہ میگفت دیوان
اشعارش ملو از سوز و گداز و این رباعیات نتیجہ طبع و قوادست

سرباھی —

یکچند سوارہ سیر و شتہ کردیم یکچند پیادہ پشت پشتہ کردیم
دیدیم کہ این کوچہ تندرہ پایاں گشتہ کردیم و باز گشتہ کردیم

سر کہ آمد گل ز بارغ زندگانی چید و رفت آورد بہمتی ملک جہاں خندید و رفت
از ازل صادق بدنیامیل آمیزش نہا چند روزی آمد دیار لال خود را دید و رفت

مستناد —

یکچند پئے زینت وزیر گشتیم — در عہد شباب
یکچند پئے دانش و دفتر گشتیم — کردیم حساب
چوں واقف این جہاں ابر گشتیم — نقشہ است بر آب
دست اندہ ہمہ شہتیم و قلندر گشتیم — اینک در یاب

یاقاد و تارک صوم و صلوة میشد و بعضی مردم خوش اسلوب را بخود گرویده کرده
 پریش تراشی مامور می ساخت و در اینها اثر تصرف پدید می شد. ولیکن راه مستقیم
 میسر اینها نبود لیکن گاه گاهی با فات آمده نماز هم با تعدیل امکان میخواند و
 ترک شرب بنگ و شراب هم میکرد و تلاوت کلام الله هم بترتیب می ساخت
 روزی شیخ محمد مراد ننگ از دیر رسید که راه راست کدام است و شایراه کدام
 است - گفت شایراه راه محمدیت و راه راست شریعت شیخ گفت - پس
 ای شاں چرا براه دیگر میروند گفت مغلوب میشوم و معذورم اعتقاد الحاح من
 نخواهد کرد - چنانچه درین روز با روح پاک حضرت خواجہ بزرگ قدس سر پیدا
 شد - مرا فرمود که تا چند این چنین باشی موجب آن با فات آمده ام فقط -
 بدانکه این مقام منزلت اقدام طالبان غلو و حدت بوحثت وجود و
 نفی افعال از خود که آزا کبری تجلی فعلی نامند - درین صبح مر بسیاری را این
 حال روی داده - بعضی در حکم معذور بمانند و بعضی بقصر قاصر خلاصی یافتند
 و قلیله بالحاد رفته ضعیف العقیده شدند مرفی باشد که اجمال این راه بدست
 آورده راه وحدت کوی تصور فرموده بشایراه در آید و این همه توجیه پیر
 میسر است الا ماشاء الله فقط - والسکامی معذور و لا یعتبر الا قتداء
 ولا ینبغی للتعظیم برعاية ظاهر الشریعة فقط -
 می آرند که بعضی نان واپچه خوشتر از دلوخواه بیک انگاه مفتون ساخته
 همراه خود برد مادر او که از مریدان حافظ عبد الله فتحکلی بود - پیش او رفته
 جرز و فزغ نمود - پس وقتی قلندر از حبه کدل باز آمده نزدیک فتح کدل
 رسید - حافظ عبد الله سر در دازه خود استاده مانده - بطرف قلندر توجه
 فرمود قلندر هم ساعتی در آنجا استاده ماند - آنگاه قلندر را خود گرفت و
 نازا بچه بهوش آمده با مادر خود در خانه رفت - پس حافظ عبد الله را که از
 یاران خود حقیقت این واقعه پرسید و فرمود که من بجانب قلندر توجه کرده
 بودم و بهوش آمده بنظر جلال در من دید که جان من سوختن گرفت
 و لظاهری (فی لاصل) سبکاتب؛

آفاق و قدوة اللهيا حضرت خواجہ عبيد اللہ بحضرت خواجہ جواد خلف عالی شینا و
وسيلتنا خواجہ عبدالباقی قدس سرما رسید و شرف ارادت حاصل کرد و جذبہ
یافت و مرض بطن گردید - در بے پروائی و خوش شکر بر رویش داشت و
عالی را بتصرف ہمزنگ خود کرد گاہے پیہوش ہم سے بود - در آن وقت
تقید باحکام شرعی بینمود - اما در ابتاعش بے قیدی و حالت بے پروائی
بعدے سرایت کرد کہ جائے اصلاح نہ ماند - از واردات طبع اوست

یکچند پئے زینت و زیور گشتیم ۲ در عہد شباب
یکچند پئے دانش و دفتر گشتیم ۲ کریم حساب
چون واقف این جہان ابر گشتیم ۲ نقشہ است بر آب
دست از ہمہ گشتیم و قلندہ گشتیم ۲ اینک دریاب

۳- از تاریخ حسن جلد سلیم

شاہ صادق قلندہ - از سادات اندرانی است - عالم و

فاضل و کامل بود - کلام قدیم بہفت قرات از بر داشت - اول در خدمت
میر علی قادری صفائی باطن حاصل کردہ - مدتی در خانقاہ الشان امامت
می کرد - رونے در عین نماز صدائے بگوش او رسیدہ در رقت آردہ
نفرہ بر کشید و از بالائے خانقاہ بر زمین غلطید و از ہماں روز
ترک تعلقات کردہ بدہلی رفت و در خدمت بابرکت خواجہ عبيد اللہ
معروف بخواجہ خورد کہ خلف الصدق خواجہ محمد باقی بود استفادہ طریق
نقشبندیہ نمود و جذبات و تصرفات و حالات عالیات و خوارق عادات
حاصل کردہ بجانب کشمیر رجعت فرمود - چون جناب خواجہ ہم مغلوب
توحید بودند در مشارائے نیز توحید اثر قوی کردہ اکثر اوقات از
راہ مغلوبیت سرشتہ منظرہ را از دست میداد و در منہیات

راہ (درق ۲۵۲) منظرہ پیر غلام حسن گنویہامی (۱۳۰۵ھ)

ضمیمہ

تذکرہ صادق

۱۔ از خوارق السالکین۔

مشاہد صادق قلندر۔ در پیش عمرہ و اصلاں و بہ کاملان
گل گلشن آمیزی حضرت میر علی سلوک در زیدہ بخدمت امامت خاتقاہ الیہاں
سرفراز بود۔ در حفظ و قرآن خوانی مثلہ نداشت۔ روزی در عین نماز صدائے
آواز بگوشش رسیدہ لغو زودہ از بالا بے خاتقاہ خود را بر سر راہ افکند۔
ہماں روز ترک تعلقات نمودہ قلندر شد۔ خود را در قید بے قیدی قرار داد و
شد وستان تشریف فرمود۔ بعد از طے منازل بصدق دل ارادت کامل در
صوبہ لاہور پیش مرشد ارشد۔ کوئین جام کش بادۂ عرفان و درد حضرت
خواجہ خورد انابت آوردہ مرید شد۔ چندے در خدمت الیہاں کسب
سعادت نمودہ۔ گوئے از میدان عرفان رہود۔ بعد از حصول مراوات و وصول
مقامات نہ سلسلہ عالیہ نقشبندیہ حاصل کردہ قدم در سیاحت اطراف و
اکناف نہاد در لباس قلندری خود را مستور ساختہ با مطلوب خویش عشق
بخت لیکن ظاہراً تارک نماز و اکل بگ و شراب بودہ۔ ازال بہمتہ تیر
ملاست عالمیان را بدف گشت۔

۲۔ تباہیخ و افہات کشمیر۔

حافظ صادق عجیب و جب۔ حافظ قرآن بود۔ خدمت مسجد میرنازک
قادری قدس سرہ داشت۔ اتفاقاً بدہی رفت و در صحبت بابرکت مخدوم

۱، (ورق ۱۹) مصنف: احمد ابن البصیر کشمیری۔ (۵۸۰ھ)

۲، (ورق ۱۹) مصنف: خواجہ محمد اعظم دیدہ مری (۵۹-۱۱۴۸ھ)

عشقہائے عاشقان درد مند
 عشقہائے عاشقان دیدہ تر
 عشقہائے عاشقان اشک ریز
 عشقہائے عاشقان بے خبر
 عشقہائے عاشقان رومے زرد
 عشقہائے عاشقان صرخ رومے
 عشقہائے عاشقان رومے دست
 عشقہائے عاشقان پیر ز درد
 عشقہائے عاشقان جاں سپار
 عشقہائے عاشقان پیر ز دست
 عشقہائے عاشقان صابرین
 عشقہائے عاشقان صادقین
 عشقہائے عاشقان بالیقین

ہر مرض را در آئینے داں سود مند
 کوہ بارامیکند زبیر و زبر
 آبروئے بہت روز رستخیز
 مستی است دیخودی تا پاؤ سر
 سرد سازد از جہان گرم و سرد
 سیر دارد زہنچہاں رنگ و بو
 جانے خواہد در میان کونے دست
 می بر آرد از درون بحر گرد
 باد شہرامیکند چوں خاک ار
 مغز باشد مغز زہن چوں قشر و پوست
 بر نیاید بار این چرخ و زمین
 پاک باشد پاک روح الامیں
 قائم است محمد اکرم است تا یوم دیں

با سوز لب از ایدل تناز تو مشب
 با چنگ و دف و برابط
 طرفہ و عجز و دلالت تو مشب
 زین منزل تا آن منزل کہ درویشی
 از صید ہوا دایاں فاسد شدہ اکنون
 مہدار کونے صادق و دلالت تو مشب

مثنوی۔

عشقہائے کز پے آمدنیا بود
 اہل آں خود آخرا ہوا بود
 عشقہائے کز برائے زر بود
 نیست عشق آں بلکہ دد و سر بود
 عشقہائے کز برائے مال مست
 شرم و راز و ریش و مال مست
 عشقہائے کز برائے زینت است
 نیست عشق آں بلکہ طہیت است
 عشقہائے کز لیاں خوش بود
 نیست عشق آں خوش ناخوش بود
 عشقہائے کز برائے خانہ است
 نیست عشق آں تنگ عارفانہ است
 عشقہائے کز بچائے غور و نست
 نیست عشق آں بلکہ خود آخر دست
 عشقہائے کز پے صحبت بود
 اہل آں خود مرد بد سیرت بود
 عشقہائے کز پے بوسے بود
 چوں میاں شیر خوش میسے بود
 عشقہائے کز پے اغراض بہت
 نیست عشق الزیاد خود اغراض بہت
 عشقہائے عاشقان پاک بجاں
 پاک دان و ہر تر از افلاک داں
 عشقہائے عاشقان [آبوس]
 ملک غبر و اں نہ چوں یقین [انجم]
 عشقہائے عاشقان تنی توانہ
 لبتہ و ما می کند چوں شاہیانہ
 عشقہائے عاشقان جانی جاں
 برتر آمد از مکان و لا مکان
 عشقہائے عاشقان صاف دل
 برتر آمد از ہوائے کب و گل
 عشقہائے عاشقان دل کباب
 می کز آید جنگ محمد و باب
 عشقہائے عاشقان سینہ چاک
 پاک باں از صفات عیب ناک
 عشقہائے عاشقان چہ نیاز
 فارغست از حرص و کبر و کین و آرز
 عشقہائے عاشقان پر خروش
 بینہا شان میزند چوں دیک و شوش
 عشقہائے عاشقان سینہ سوز
 نیم شب را می کند چوں نیم روز
 عشقہائے عاشقان بسیرہ ریش
 ترک خوابد از آشتی قوم خویش

رو برویم بود ماو دل فروز
 آفتاب بود چشم سینه سوز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 ای عجب امروز روزاں روز روز
 گفت صادق عاشقی سازا و سوز

باز آمد یار مادر کو بی ما
 دست و پایم بست بود از رفتش
 باز آمد قوت بازوئے ما
 انتظار وقت دست بود و پس
 باز آمد دلبر دل جوئے ما
 مطرباں ہم گرم و ساقی گرم تر
 باز آمد شاد مہ جوئے ما
 ہم بہاراں بود وقت سیر باغ
 باز آمد گلرخ خوش جوئے ما
 چوں بجام ریخت از ساع شراب
 باز آمد مستی و مہ جوئے ما
 عمر تازہ یافتی تو صادق
 چوں بیامد خضر آب جوئے ما

بر تباب از نگاہ سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 ای پایت از نگاہ سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 از بہر نفس و رنگ کویت نمیروم
 بہات لعل دیدم و روئے تو آفتاب
 مشتہ سیاہ و آشت بہانہ پان چو خورد
 ناگاہ چشم من چو فتادہ لبوئے شرق
 آیات سُرخ و خط سیاہ و رسم سفید
 خواہم کنم تبار سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 بروئے کنم تبار سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 کایں چشم مست سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 در زلف شد دید سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 ایک سجدہ گفت سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 دیدم بوقت صبح سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ
 قربان اس کتاب سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ

صادق ز بہر قافیہ دل تنگت جہت

ایرے ندیدہ تو سفید و سیاہ و سُرخ

غزلیات

نمی پرستی نمی پرستی نمی پرستی ز حال من
 ربودی دل ربودی دل ربودی دل و دین می
 دلا اکنون لا اکنون لا اکنون بیای تو
 جگر سوزد جگر سوزد جگر سوزد ز بهر تو
 دے خواہی دے خواہی دے خواہی گدایا
 مگر امشب مگر امشب مگر امشب نخواہی
 نیار نیار نیار نیار و رفتن
 ترا زید ترا زید ترا زید کلاه کج
 نمک دارد نمک دارد نمک دارد کلام تو
 صبارا گو صبارا گو صبارا گو تو لے صافی
 بکوی او بکوی او بکوی او گذرداری

الحمد لله الحمد لله
 پوسته داریم خوش بار دیده
 تاریک ما است در سینه نهال
 چون شمع داریم سر زینت
 گرگزیموید مجر راه رندی
 صادق که دل دانت دانا و آگاه

[دہاں غنھی دہاں غنھی دہاں غنھی تر از نقطہ
 تیک تیک تیک تیک تیک تیک کمراری]

(مطابق نسخہ خطی دیوان صادق کہ نزد جناب قیصر قند می باشد)

من ز دست تو صنم دست بدست میزنم
 موی ز سر میکنم بار نهی بگر دهم
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 خون جگر بخوش شد عقل و دل ز خوش شد
 ناطقه ام خموش شد سامعه ام ز گوش شد
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 یاحمه راز گفته این همه نوز نهفت
 با و گراں شگفته هیچ بمن نگفته
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 دم نزدیم یک نفس خام بماند [همه بوسه]
 هیچ نماند دست رس گاه شدیم بخوش
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 ز اول شب تا بروز [چیت بدل غیر سوز]
 میکشیم روزه روز نیست قرارت هنوز
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 من بجا وطن کجا روح کجا و تن کجا
 سبز کجا چمن کجا گل کجا دمن کجا
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 لحظه بلخه دمدم آتش دل فسرورم
 وز غم غولیش سوزیم اینست نصیب روزم
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست

مثلت

جیب و جگر دریده شد دست سُوده دامنست
 دامن دل پریده شد نیست خیال بامنست
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 مهر و وفا ندیده ام جور و جفات دیده ام
 محنت و غم کشیده ام درد و الم چشیده ام
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 رشته من پریده یار دگر گزیده
 بند و نخسریده عیب مرا چه دیده
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 مهر رنج خود نموده صبر و دلم ربلوده
 حرف کسے شنوده بابستم کسوده
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 دست تو نمیرسد مگر شد دست این جسد
 در طلبت ز محنت و کد طبعه ز زند نیک و بد
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 صبر و قرار برده جان و دلم فروده
 خون جگر بخورده تن بیلا سپرده
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست
 شب همه شب نخفته ام روز نه راز گفته ام
 از همه اشش نهفته ام در عجیب سفته ام
 دامن تست و دست من دست منست و دامنست

پیدا است ز تو ازین جدائی
 بے جسم دلی و بے وفائی
 سوز و جگر دم [از درد و هجرت]
 [اے] کاش نبود آشنائی
 رہ دور و دراز با گنگست
 از لطف مگر تو خود بیائی
 عمر لیت کہ اشتیاق دارم
 روپوش زمین بگو چسپائی
 دانی کہ دلم ز رشک سوزد
 باغیر رخت چسپائی
 باشد کہ ز دست نفس مکش
 یک لحظہ بمن شود رہائی
 از بیج کسے بکار ناید
 کاسے کہ بکرو و بڈہوئی
 آفات جہاں بلای عالم
 می خیزد ازین منی و مائی
 گشتا چو ز نفس خود گذشتی
 آزاد بزی کہ بند مائی
 از مادر طبع خویش زادم

بر کون و مکان قدم نہادم
 نے قال خوش آیدم نہ حالے
 کز سر دو بزا آیدم ملائے
 سارے کہ گذشت با تو روزیت
 بے رو تو روز گشت سارے
 گم دیدہ نگہ کند بسوئے
 جزروت نباشدش خیالے
 کس را کہ نمود قوس ابروت
 گوید کہ بیدیدہ ام ہلالے
 از بہر دو دام زلف دانہ
 افتاد بر رخ عجیب حالے
 مگر کس کہ بیدیدہ سر و قدت
 دیدست ز باغ جاں نہالے
 کس خواست ہیں جہاں کسے آں
 دارند چو ہر یکے مائے
 ایام شہور و چند سالے
 گشتیم نہ حال تا بجالے
 اکوں دل [من] رسید جائے
 کائناتہ حروف قیل و قالے

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
 بر کون و مکان قدم نہادم



کس نیست بیوم غنچه ماسر
دانی که بیاطقم چه سوز است
ای دل اگر تپوئے جانست
چشم دل عاشقان صادق
صد چه که سحر بار دیدم
گفتی که ز طبع خود برون آئی
امروز چه صاف و پاک و طاهر
حال دل من شود چو ظاهر
آگاه همیشه باش و حاضر
که بود و بود به عین ناظر
کز خویش گذشتن است آخر
تا چند به بند شعروشاعر
از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم

تا چند فراق من بخواهی
هر سر که قدم بر آستان
پیوسته به صادق است احسان
همواره بود کس که شناخت
آن را که کشید سر ز فرمانت
میشاش ز بند طبع آزاد
گفتی که چو اندر هوا گذشتی
از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم
در دیده سپید شد بیاهی
که میل کند بتاج شاهی
با فضل و عنایت الهی
مقتاد او امر و نواهی
در بحر جهاز شد بنائی
میخواه دیگر تو سر چه خواهی
محکوم تو گشت مرغ و ماهی

تدریج بند ثانی

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم
بیا یاد دلم وصال دارد
دل رفت و گذشت و صفات را
از سر دو جهان ملال دارد
نفس فکر مال و حال دارد
افلاک و زمین آنچه در ف
تمثیل جهول حاصل یار
یک ذره بسبب خیال دارد
اندیشه کس بدرک کنهش
فکرست که در محال دارد
خون ریزی تو حلال دارد
عاشق که کنی تو قصد خویش
سهر کس که بیدیدنی خوبت
کے فکر عروس و زال دارد

از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم
دانم که شوم ز ضعف مرحوم
چون حال در دن خود بستم
شتم چون ز بهل خویش مظلوم
دیدم که گشت نفس مذموم
آفات خود می چو گشت معلوم
بر لوح دلست همیشه مرقوم
فردا شوم ز ضعف مرحوم
پردانه گئی بدم گئی موم
رستم ز رجوع و عود مشوم
از خود گشت نیست هیچ و معدوم
دیدم که بدم ببند موبوم
از مادر طبع خویش زادم
بر کون و مکان قدم نهادم

اکنوں دل من چو جام خواہد کے ننگ و نشان و نام خواہد
 دستار و کلاه رہن کردہ از بہر شراب و ام خواہد
 انداہل جہاں چنانست وحشی نے خاص زمانہ نام خواہد
 گشت [است] ازبت و خانہ معمور نے صحن سرائے و بام خواہد
 آں دل کہ ز سوز عشق بریاست نے پختہ ز کس نہ خام خواہد
 دین و دل جہاں چو عرض کردم تایار ازاں کلام خواہد
 گفتا چو بدید حال صادق منت اشتراک نام خواہد
 با جام و دو جام نیست قانع میہلے سحر و شام خواہد

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتہم
 تارفتہ بیائے خشم بیفتم
 ایام بہار و بادہ و جام
 نو مید مشو نہ صبح مقصود
 جان و جہاں چو عرض کردند
 بے روت دلم چو بدید لڑاں
 ایمن کہ بود ز مکر و دراں
 گفتا کہ ایمن تو زود بگذار
 از دست مدہ تو باغرا صلا
 میخوہ کہ کنوں کہ دید انجام
 تا وقت سحر چو زاید این شام
 نکلند نظر بہ پختہ و خام
 آیا بود آنکہ گیرد آرام
 دانش کہ خورد کہ نیست درام
 تدبیر امور و ہم سر انجام
 در صحن و سرائے و صفہ و بام

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتہم
 تارفتہ بیائے خشم بیفتم



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 لے بخود نما میاید دست
 کر بحر لبے و جود چوں دوست
 در ضعف قوی و تا توانی
 گیری اگر کم تو دست نیکوست
 دلم که دہی مراد آخو
 دل را کہ زہر حیمت تو بدست
 پچاں است ز رشک نفاق آمو
 کایں زلف دراز تو چہ خوشبخت
 کہ گواہ برے گرفتے رام
 زین پس دل من بزم یکدست

از نمد ریا کنوں گزشتم

تارفتہ بیائے چشم بیفتم

صفت کہ نہرا خیسل دارد
 سرکس کہ بیدل بیل دارد
 دارد سرگل نہرا بیل
 تا گل یکدام میل دارد
 آنکس کہ ندید رویت امروز
 فردا دو نہرا ویل دارد
 خورشید رخت کہ کس نہ بیند
 باہین نہرا بیل دارد
 آن را کہ نظرت بہا بہت
 سہ چشم سوئے سہیل دارد
 محتاج سفای و شہ کو
 کو آنکہ گمر جزیل دارد
 مرکس کہ بیدارک من محبت
 دو چشم مگر دو میل دارد
 گویند نظارگان کہ سنش
 حسن وہاں بیل دارد
 یک چند ولم باب پرداخت
 زین دل ایشوب بیل دارد

از نمد ریا کنوں گزشتم
 تارفتہ بیائے چشم بیفتم

یا آنکه نه من میبوش رویت
یا حال بستاند درون کویت
از هر نظر ارکان بیدل
شکر چو کتی بس است هویت
تا در بدتم رقت ز جان است
پادشاه شکر است و جویت
بر تربت اگر گذر کنی جان
خیزیم چو شنگان ز لوبیت
سرگز نکند بجا میله
ششم که نظر کند لبویت
خودشید ز نور گشت روشن
شبهه که سیه شد دست زعزیت
عمری که به خالق است
در فیه چو ندریده دیده رویت

از زبیر ریا کنوں گذشتم

تار قه بیست و ششم بیستم

ای دوست بس که تا تو انم
چون پیش بدم نه آسنا نم
از حال دلم ترا خبر نیت
کے بود تو چنین گمانم
یعنی تو اگر به بنیم ای دوست
کے تو بود به از جنا نم
گر بجز نمیرسد با خبر
با یاد وصال ش او مانم
گر چه که تو عهد خود شکستی
بر آنچه بدم کنوں برانم
گوئی که در گشتی تو صادق
دیگر تو شیدی و من بهانم
یک لحظه تیم بروں ز امرت
کایسے که تو گفتی و سنا نم
تر که که زنی تو خیمه در دل
کونام من و کونام نشانم
گفتی چو مرا میبوش جلوس
تا چشمه حقیقم و چنانم

از زبیر ریا کنوں گذشتم

تار قه بیست و ششم بیستم

از غم که طلب کنی رهایی
 در کھر وجود تو آشتای
 از جوشش کبیرند زیادت
 شش بجگر اذین جدائی
 روشن شود از برخ تو عالم
 ما با چید شود اگر بمائی
 سینه بکن و نه خود بر دل آید
 تا چند نه تو معنی و ملای
 چون لطف بگرد گفت صادق
 من زان تو ام تو خود ز ملای
 کاس که کنی برائے ما کج
 یا غیر منت چرا نمائی

از زبیر ریا کنوں گزشتم
 تارفتہ بیائے خشم بیفتم
 جانا بخورم میات سو گند
 کایں زلف در ارت و لبند
 عمر لیتد بھر مستلیم
 ایں جود و جفا بگو کہ تا چند
 چوں تو بجہاں کسے ندیدم
 گشتیم بہ ملک ملک سرخند
 دل گشت ز قید عالم آزاد
 زانکہ کہ گشتد بہ عشق پابند
 جاں را بخود قسدا و آرام
 رحمت بکن و جنش پسند
 یکجور مے ز حیا م زین
 خود دھم و شدم مست و خورند
 از زبیر ریا کنوں گزشتم
 تارفتہ بیائے خشم بیفتم

جہاں رفتی پے تو و جہاں ہم
 نام نہ شد پیش یتاں ہم
 فکر دو جہاں کہ نیست ملا
 از عہد گزشتم و زماں ہم
 کس نیک بگوید و کسے بد
 فی الذات خیں نیم چناں ہم
 چوں کوی تو ام شدت ملوی
 فردوس بریں چہ دچناں ہم
 بارہج نمیشود دل آرام
 گلزار بدیدم و خزاں ہم
 از زبیر ریا کنوں گزشتم
 تارفتہ بیائے خشم بیفتم

تا چند مرا تو دود داری دود دیتی من سود داری
سویم نکنی گمے لگاے در حق کمال و نور داری
روشنی کہ شود ز تو شب تار گویا کہ چیس ز تود داری
من گشته و زار وصل خولہاں از من تو چرا فقور داری
در مہر تو خود کمال دام اند عشق من ار قصود داری
ایام بہ غیبتم بے شد باشد کہ شبے حضور داری
با این ہمہ چہ ہا کہ کردم گفتی بہ عمل غرور داری

انہ زہد ریا کنوں گزشتہ

تا رفتہ پیائے خشم بیفتم

ایام شباب نہ عہد شیب است گر بادہ خودم کنوں چہ غیب است
جاں وادم و دین و دل ر بودی در عشق منت و گر چہ ریب است
راز دل من برت ہویدا است شاید کہ حدوت علم غیب است
خواہم کہ ز زہد سر برآرم سر را کہ نگہ کنم بہ حجب است
نہ انجام عمل کہ گشت آگاہ اسلوب بے نہاں و غیب است

انہ زہد ریا کنوں گزشتہ

تا رفتہ پیائے خشم بیفتم

آواز بر آمد از دہو دم پندار یدم اگر نمودم
شوخاں جہاں بے یدم یک غمرہ صوخر تو ر بودم
اورا دو دعلے صبح گاہی اند بہر دلت نکرده بودم
نقہ جو نکرده بیچ سرا بہر چہد لہجہ گاہ سودم
تو بہ نکنم اگر زنی بیچ صد بار چہ توشن آرمدم

انہ زہد ریا کنوں گزشتہ

تا رفتہ پیائے خشم بیفتم

جانا شو دم گره کُشائی
 صد جاں بکھن نثار و افشائی
 عملیت تو کہ آشنایم
 در خانہ فکھجم از مست
 از پائے بکوبیم آسماں را
 گر چہ کہ گدائے کوچہ گروم
 در کویتوشا جی و دیری
 در بحر ضعیف و پیر شتم
 از حد بگذشت گریہ ہایم
 سعی و علم بکار ناند
 سالوس و دغل ب کہ بودم
 دیدار خود از بمن نشائی
 روزے کہ مرا ز من رُبائی
 بیگانہ چنیں بمن چیرائی
 از در تو اگر لے در آئی
 بر بام من اریکے بر آئی
 چشم نبود بہ پلو شائی
 چشم نبود بہ از گشائی
 تا کہ تو مرا بیا ز مائی
 تاجند بنالم از جلدائی
 از لطف کنوں مگر خود آئی
 قلم چہ نیافت زور دائی

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم

تارفتہ پائے خشم بیفتم

خیریم اگر بحبت و بھویت
 مردم کہ بہاؤ بہ بیند
 آں زلف کند تو دلم را
 حاجت نبود بہ تیر و کشیر
 گر بہر دو چہاں بہ روشوہ بدہند
 کردن ندہم رنگہ بھویت
 گفتی تو کہ جملہ داری انا
 گر چہ کہ بصومعہ نشستی
 یکجہ بدہ تو شست و شویت
 از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
 تارفتہ پائے خشم بیفتم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم

تارفتہ پائے خشم بیفتم

خوردیم قدح زمیفرمیش
 یکجہرے بریخت بکام وزانگہ
 تنہانہ منم اسیر زلفش
 ویرود و جہاں نظیر یارم
 خاک رواں ہوا نگردم
 از جرم و خطا چہ پاک دارم
 صدق بطلب ز فیض جودش
 آگاہ شدم ز نفس و مکرش
 عیار و شے تمام ہو شے
 ہوشیست مرا چگونہ ہو شے
 دارند جہانیاں ہر و شے
 نشید ندیدہ چشم و گو شے
 بے محنت نیش مارہ نو شے
 غفار ذنوب و عیب ہو شے
 مستی ملام و جام و نو شے
 دیدیم جو مگر خرقہ ہو شے

از زہد ریا کنوں گزشتیم
 تارفتہ بپائے خشم بیفتم

چوں تو بزمانہ یار دارم
 خود کار مرا بخود گرفتگی
 زانکہ کہ شدم گدائے کویت
 تا وصل نمیشود میبستر
 چوں زلف سیاہ دامن داری
 از کشت آہ آہ گزشتیم
 یکس نیم و غریب ہستم
 دارو چہ گنم شدت درماں
 تا چند بجویم از فراق
 یکچند بدیم بزرق و طامات
 در عین خزاں بہار دارم
 من با دگرے خیمہ کار دارم
 از شاہ و وزیر عار دارم
 دیدہ بنحالی چار دارم
 مرغ دل خود شکار دارم
 سرشب بفلک مطار دارم
 درد و غم تو دو یار دارم
 درے کہ ندیم و یار دارم
 سوراخ جگر ہجو عار دارم
 حالا خود از اں غبار دارم

از زہد ریا کنوں گزشتیم
 تارفتہ بپائے خشم بیفتم

قد الفی گشته دالم	ای سرور دماں چو انالم
رحمے ز تو توفیق ندیدہ عالم	بر چند نیانہ و عجز دیدی
بیرون تو نبودی از خیالم	سرگاہ بخود تنگاہ کردم
ز انہا تکشودہ پر د یالم	یکچند بصومئہ نشستم
بویئے چو نیامد از دھالم	تقوی و ریاضتہ کہ کردم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تارفتہ پیلے خشم بیفتم

در تن آریکے ز نیم جانست	دیدار ترا بہا گران است
نالا است ز شوق و طغالت	چوں گل چمن ندیدہ بلبل
اسرار خدا لیس نہاںست	نقطہ دہشت عجیب شولیت
دو زرخ بوحال تو بجانست	گلشن ز فراق کست گلشن
در عشق تو محرم من بر آہست	در چند بجا وفا نکردی
لیکن بشوق دل جوہست	گرچہ کہ نہ زہد پر گشتم
کارم چو ہنوز در میاںست	خونہلے جس گریبے بخوردم

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تارفتہ پیلے خشم بیفتم

ز تار خودی ز خود بزدیدم	تا حلقہ زلف تو بدیدم
آخو کہ بگوئی سیدم	گو یا بدم بشوق کفرے
از باغ تو خود گلے بنجیدم	بہن خار بخوردم از قیاس
اگہ شود و گدہ بدیدم	ترسم کہ کے ز راز نہاں
یکبار کہ جو عہدات چشیدم	رفقہ از دلم نزار خستگوت

از زہد ریا کنوں گذشتم
تارفتہ پیلے خشم بیفتم

کلام صادق

ترجیع بند اول —

از زہدِ ریا کنوں گزشتہ
تارفتہ پہلے خشمِ بیفتم
چشمِ کہ خیالِ تستِ دلف
صد گزشتہ چشمِ تو بخیزد
کوئینِ ندیا غیرِ لا شئی
لبہاتِ زندِ چو بانگِ لا شئی
آوازِ جرسِ بے شنیدند
ستنگیِ جہاں چو دلِ بگسرو
مستیِ مدامِ خواہمِ اندھے
تھا تو کے طلبِ ندارم
نہ نہ رطلِ گرانِ و جامِ پرے

از زہدِ ریا کنوں گزشتہ
تارفتہ پہلے خشمِ بیفتم

ایامِ فسادِ تو بدیدم
سریا چو قدمِ نمودہ گزشتہ
شہائے وصالِ تو شنیدم
تا آنگہ بر کوئے تو رسیدم
تاریخے ترا نگاہِ کردم
احوالِ عجبِ شد بدیدم
از دستِ رقیبِ دیو سرت
کفہائے دو دستِ خود گویدم
خود شنید و مہ زمانہِ دادم
مہِ رخِ تو کہ من خریدم
ار مگر زمانہِ باز رستم
د عشقِ تو تا جگرِ دریدم
یکچہ جرمِ ہم بس شد
در فحشِ سرو برگِ خود ندیدم

از زہدِ ریا کنوں گزشتہ

تارفتہ پہلے خشمِ بیفتم

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

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